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XIII.

ON THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS IN THE  
LESCHÉ AT DELPHI.

PART II.

THE words of Pausanias imply that the second composition on the left hand wall in the Lesche, is supplementary to, not to say part of, the first, and we have to look accordingly for the development of the same leading ideas.

"The other portion of the painting to the left, he says, is "Ulysses descended to Hades, so called, in order to inquire of "the shade of Teiresias respecting his return home."

In the general plan of this picture we shall find certain very remarkable parallelisms to the first, but still with the same art in avoidance of tame repetition, that we recognised in the association of limited groups. Again we are struck with the marked correspondence in significance between the terminal subjects, and again two extensive systems of groups divide between them the intermediate space. But the main difference between the two compositions begins here; in the first, the parallelism in general arrangement of the two greater systems or divisions of groups, was far more salient than any that appeared between parts of the same system to each other: in the present instance this rule of correspondence is reversed, and we find, when we have reconstructed the composition in closest accordance with the description, that each of the great divisions that together fill up the scene, has a distinct organization of its own, and it is within itself and between its component groups that parallelism is most

prevalent,—coherence of the two masses being provided for by identity in principle of distribution and rule of contrast, of which they conjointly illustrate the resources.

The following is an abstract of the description, leaving out not only irrelevances, but those knots and entanglements in the writer's style that seem likely to remain of questionable interpretation, and are too much disputed to warrant citation for one view or another:—

“ A river is represented, evidently the Acheron, with reeds “ in it and indistinct forms, less like fishes than shadows of “ fishes. On the river is a craft, and a ferryman at the oars,— “ Charon, represented as of advanced age; for passengers there are “ Tellis as a youth, and Cleoboia, yet a maiden; she holds in her “ lap a cista, such as belongs to the rites of Demeter. The poet “ Archilochus (*of Paros*) is said to have been third in descent “ from Tellis, and Cleoboia first introduced the orgies of Demeter “ into Thasos from Paros. On the bank of the Acheron, “ about under the boat of Charon, is an undutiful son throttled “ by his father, and near him is a man, guilty of sacrilegious “ robbery, receiving punishment from a female skilled in “ deforming or disfiguring poisons.

“ Higher up than the enumerated figures is Eurynomus, said “ by the Delphian guides to be a *δαίμων* who gnaws the flesh of “ the dead, leaving only the bones; he is painted of the blue- “ black colour of flesh-flies, and shows his teeth; beneath him, as “ he sits, is the skin of a vulture.

“ In order after Eurynomus are Auge of Arcadia, and “ Iphimedeia. Higher up than those already enumerated are “ the companions of Ulysses, Perimedes and Eurylochus, “ bringing victims—black rams. After them is a seated man, “ named in the inscription Oknos; he is twisting a rope, which “ a female ass beside him is eating up as fast as he twists it. “ Tityus is also represented, not now under punishment, but “ as if worn out and consumed by his past sufferings,—a faint “ figure, not altogether distinguishable. Proceeding with the “ picture in order, we come to Ariadne, very close to the twister

" of the rope; she is seated on a rock, and regards her sister Phædra, who is elevated in a swing, and holds the cord on either side with her hands.

" Below Phædra is Chloris reclining on the lap of Thyia, clearly expressing that an attachment existed between them while they were living. Beside Thyia is Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, and after her Clymene, who turns her back to her. The story how Procris was the wife of Cephalus before Clymene, and how she died by the hands of her husband, is matter of notoriety. Inwards from Clymene is Megara.

" Over head of the women enumerated is the daughter of Salmoneus sitting on a rock, and Eriphyle standing near her, holding the ends of her fingers near her neck, through her chiton; the position of her hands and the folds of her dress readily suggest that she is concealing the celebrated necklace.

" Above Eriphyle he has painted Elpenor in the garb of a sailor, and Ulysses crouching over his feet and holding his sword above the trench. The soothsayer Teiresias advances to the trench; behind Teiresias, on a rock, is Antikleia, mother of Ulysses. Below Ulysses, sitting on thrones, are Theseus and Pirithous. Theseus holds both his own sword and that of Pirithous; Pirithous seems to look at them as grieving at their uselessness in his enterprise.

" Next in order, Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandarus as maidens crowned with flowers and playing with astragals, with the names Kameiro and Klytie.

" After the daughters of Pandarus is Antilochus, &c., &c." In the arrangement I have adopted, the position of Eury-nomus, relatively to the figures "next in order after him," may seem open to dispute; but the words of Pausanias appear most naturally to imply that he is over, not merely the group of the sacrilegious man, but also higher up than Charon's boat; if, then, the group of Auge and Iphimedeia, who are stated to be "in order after him," are to be lifted up into the same line with him, the companions of Ulysses, who are "above them," will participate in the change, and we shall thus have at

this end of the picture four tiers of figures instead of the three that are repeatedly established in other parts of the description, as where Elpenor is stated to be above Eriphyle, who is above Clymene. There is less violence in the free interpretation I have followed—the general phraseology of the whole description considered, than in such a general and intolerable dislocation. The place assigned to Tityus is justified by absence of any definite account of his place—the notice of him is thrust in between that of Oknos and the figure that is “close to Oknos,” by correspondence with the groups of the damned, (to borrow a term disagreeable but convenient,) in the lower line, which general similarity to the arrangement at the other end of the picture would lead us to expect, and finally by a subjective propriety in his relation to Eurynomus. Polygnotus in this picture, as in the former, softens the more shocking details and exaggerated inventions of poetry, as if knowing that what would bear to be related would not bear to be exhibited, and that therefore the painter, to keep within the limits of chastened expression, must restrict himself more severely than the poet. The Tityus of Homer lay extended nine acres large, and a pair of vultures, one on either side, tore his liver. I have no doubt that the carnivorous Eurynomus, on his vulture skin near the worn and wasted form of Tityus, is to replace the vultures of the poet. We trace something like this progressive anthropomorphism in other instances among the Greeks; the sea-god Nereus sometimes appears in form a merman—half human, half a fish, then entirely human, and riding on the complete sea monster, from which he has become detached and extricated; lastly, the brute disappears, and Nereus walks alone in human form divine. So Cecrops, who is seen on the vase half man, half serpent, was represented by Pheidias on the western pediment of the Parthenon, in form a man, and seated on the coiling serpent.\*

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\* See my explanation of the Groups in the Western Pediment of the Parthenon, *Classical Museum*, xviii.



The punishment of Tityus, according to Homer, was for the crime of molesting Latona on her way to Delphi; he was thus a type of the sacrilegious troops or tribes who infested the route of the devout visiters of the fane. We have other notices of the annoyance in Greek antiquity; and a like effect has followed like causes in Christian ages, as, apart from expenses of travel, the reception of a pilgrim at his journey's end, has ever depended on his not arriving empty-handed. The theme, so interesting at the wealthy Pytho, of the enormity of sacrilege, which was introduced in the first painting in the acts of Ajax and Neoptolemus, is here again enforced by mythical example, and also by the group at the bottom of the picture, of the plunderer of things consecrated and his tormentor. The retaliation on the undutiful son furnishes a companion group, on the principle that made piety towards parents and towards the gods, the leading and constantly-conjoined inculcations in old Greek codes of moral duty. So Pindar gives them on the authority of the centaur Chiron, (*Pyth.* VI.,) and so they stand among the precepts ascribed to Eleusinian Triptolemus.

Now, then, becomes apparent an additional propriety in the painter's treatment of the subject of the departing Greeks; the filial solicitude of Athenian Demophon for the release of his grandmother, Æthra, at once appears—these traditional associations recognised, in pointed contrast to the irreverent violence of Ajax and Neoptolemus, and we are bound to recognise a natural coherence between the two subjects. Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia*, claims for the Athenians the honour of peculiar tenderness on the head of filial duty.

The boat of Charon, with Tityus and Eurynomus above, and the pair of tortured wretches below, constitute the first system of groups, to which we shall find another, at the other end of the picture, very exactly correspond.

The introduction of Tellis and Cleoboia into the subject is an obvious anachronism, of which the full motives are probably

now irrecoverable;\* the Thasian connexion of the pair directs our attention to the patriotic feeling of the painter, and this, with a certain harmony with the subject, of which we shall have to say more, will bring the case within the rule of those more familiar violations of the strict unities, that abound in the works of the great Italian painters. We may safely assume here, as there we can so constantly and satisfactorily trace, a principle of transcendental congruity dominating all minor, and, in truth, unimportant incongruities. Some vestige of the painter's thought may be revealed by such hints as these. The birth and glory of Archilochus, the descendant of Tellis, Parian and Thasian,—and among Greek poets he was second in renown to Homer alone, was foretold by a Delphic response: it was in obedience to another that, at an early age, he was the leader of a colony from Paros to the native island of Polygnotus; he fell in battle at an advanced age, and when his slayer appeared at Delphi, he was warned by the Pythoness off the sacred precinct with horror, as an unclean thing, stained with the blood of the favourite minister of the god. Among the works of Archilochus was a hymn to Demeter, for which he gained a prize at Paros, probably in a festival at the very sanctuary of which his relative Cleobolia had been a priestess. Telesicles, the name of his father, is an indication of the continued connexion with the worship; and it is more than a mere coincidence that the great Iambic satirist of Greece, had such close family attachment to the worship, in which satirical improvisation was a sanctioned—it may be said, a sacred custom. Compare the mythology of Iambe in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. I suspect that the hymn of Archilochus to the goddess, together, perhaps, with his poem of the Shipwreck, would have helped us to an elucidation of the painting far different from that we are now fain to be content with.

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\* May it be to this that the ill-expressed and much-debated observation of Pausanias, as to "the obscurity of the relations of the passengers in the boat"—I translate the ambiguity, alludes?

The parallel groups at the other end of the picture, will present additional allusions to the mysteries of Demeter—allusions of which the appropriateness to the present occasion might seem sufficiently justified by the special reference of the goddess, both at Thasos and Attica, to the under-world, the subject of the painting. But there is a farther propriety, that it is as well to notice at once. The Amphictyonic league, of which a chief object was the protection of the Delphic sanctuary, was a combination from immemorial time, of two leagues, one connected with Apollo and Delphi, the other with Demeter and the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ, where, at a temple of the goddess, the meetings were convened alternately with Delphi. It may not be too much to infer from a passage of Pliny (*H. N.* 35, 9), that the Amphictyony employed Polygnotus, and the references to Demeter became therefore as appropriate, as indispensable, as those to Apollo and Artemis, and admirable is the art with which the painter has availed himself of all the advantages, and responded to all the requirements of the combination.

One more observation lies too close at hand to be avoided; the Parian worship of Demeter comes into notice in the unfortunate events that cloud the last days of the glorious life of Miltiades, the father of Cimon the patron, or let us give more honour either way, and say, the friend of Polygnotus. The adventure in which Miltiades received the injury that proved fatal, exposed him also to a charge of violating a sanctuary. Herodotus recounts the application of the Parians to Delphi on the subject, and the answer of the god may be favourably interpreted as exculpating the hero. But Miltiades, who lay under such an imputation, claimed *Æacid* descent; and on combining all the circumstances of the incident, it becomes a problem to explain how Polygnotus came to select for the stoa of his son, such a subject as the trial of Ajax Oileus for sacrilege.

In the upper line, the extent of vacant interval between the group of Ulysses and his companions bearing the victims, is very large, but it cannot be conscientiously reduced; and we

shall find other instances in the picture of like vacuities, which no doubt were adopted and managed on definite and effective principles. I have relieved it a little by the introduction and management of the tree, in a manner authorized by the vase paintings, and fully vindicated here by certain agreement of effect, with the tree of the second set of groups.

I have no hesitation whatever in making Teiresias a full-length figure, advancing to the point from which, in the Berlin design, in deference to a vase-painting rather than to either Homer or Pausanias, he is seen half emerging. Pausanias says distinctly that Ulysses crouches holding his sword above a pit, towards which Teiresias advances. Into this pit—"a cubit long and wide"—after milder libations the hero had, with face averted, caused the blood of the victims brought by Perimedes and Eurylochos, to run. Then he bade his two comrades flay and burn the slaughtered victims, praying to the gods, Hades and Persephone; but he himself sate with drawn sword, and permitted none of the ghosts, not even that of his mother, Antikleia, to approach the blood before he interrogated Teiresias. Teiresias approaches, and bids the hero retire from the pit and withhold his sword, while he drinks of the blood.

Consistently with this description, there is no meaning in the position of Ulysses, unless the pit is to be considered already full of blood, and the victims slain; but how, then, can the comrades be represented bringing them for the purpose of being slain? The notion that they are doing so, can only rest on the supposition, that Polygnotus intended to represent two moments of time in the two groups: at the earlier moment, the bringing of the victims; at the later, the proceedings after they were killed. No advantage, however, is apparent to compensate for the clumsiness of the plan, and the incongruity of the absence of Ulysses on the first occasion, and of his companions on the second. Polygnotus, I believe, interpreted Homer to the effect, that having slaughtered the sheep, Ulysses dismissed his companions to burn the carcases; certainly, the whole tenour and effect of the remainder of the description, convey the impression that he is

quite alone among the crowding shades, and alone rejoins his crew on the shore. The accession of dignity to the chief person in the adventure, that thus accrues, is obvious and important; here, however, as in several other points, the artist, and not the commentator, must furnish the last elucidation; and I have not reversed the movement of the figures.

There could be no more appropriate pendant to the subject painted on the opposite wall—the origin of the disasters of the returning Greek fleet, than the descent of Ulysses to Hades, to learn from the prophet the means of avoiding his share of them; and the moral of respect for sanctuaries would again be pressed on the Greek who knew his Homer by heart, by the recollection that Teiresias made the safe return of the Ithakan, conditional on his reverentially abstaining from the sacred herds of the Sun, feeding on the isle Thrinacria—of the Sun that “hears all things, and all sees;” and that it was in consequence of disregard of these injunctions by his crew and companions that they perished to a man, and he returned alone.

The allusion to the funereal rites of Elpenor, piously performed by Ulysses, is another point of attachment to the first painting, as it necessarily reminds of the like office performed by the same hero for Laomedon, through his friend and associate Sinon.

The two lower rows of figures of this system of groups, exhibit very palpable symmetry of arrangement. Oknos, at his thriftless work at one extremity, has a pair of female figures on either side of him; and the group of Theseus and Pirithous, as they gaze on their useless weapons, are similarly supported. Below the two central female pairs of this line are two other pairs, with a single figure in the midst. These five figures in the lowest line, divided by an equal interval from the sacrilegious wretch and from Antilochus, give central mass to the system of groups, and render the unconformable arrangement of the upper line more remarkable; but it is thus, in fact, that the painter seems to have given emphasis to the group in the upper line, and to have indicated that the common point of connexion



and transition between the two grand divisions of the composition, lay there.

Polygnotus follows the *Odyssey* in introducing numerous heroines in proximity to the scene of the appearance of *Teiresias*—wives and daughters all, says *Homer*, of the great. The significance of this circumstance I am not quite prepared to appreciate. However, painter and poet seem to agree in the titles they admit to such place and precedence—misfortunes, crimes, and loves, of renown and scale befitting the state of heroines: *Iphimedeia*, *Ariadne*, *Phædra*, *Tyro*, *Eriphyle*, *Chloris*, *Procris*, *Clymene*, and *Megara*, are all in the *Homeric* enumeration; but the *Pandarids* and *Auge* and *Thyia*, replace *Antiope*, *Epikaste*, *Alcmena*, and *Leda*. In both catalogues the heroines number thirteen, and thirteen is too frequent and favourite a number in Greek legends for the coincidence to be accidental. *Æolid* descent seems the characteristic that is most nearly common to all—indication of the origin of the poetical tradition: the full investigation of the subject would lead too far, and I fear to little result; but a few observations may be admitted on the scope of the painter's originality of treatment.

Of *Auge* and *Iphimedeia*, who are grouped together, *Pausanias* observes, as if in explanation, that they were both connected with Asiatic localities: one was mother of *Telephus* by *Hercules*—*Telephus*, of all the sons of *Hercules* most like his father; the other rewarded the love of *Poseidon* with the giant twins, *Otus* and *Ephialtes*. The *Æolian* god, *Poseidon*, was also the lover of *Thyia* and of *Tyro*, and *Chloris* was mother of *Nestor* by *Neleus*, son of *Poseidon*.

The affectionate grouping of *Thyia* and *Chloris* is thus sufficiently accounted for; it contrasts with the slighting movement of *Procris*, as she turns away from *Clymene*, her husband's second wife. *Megara*, says *Pausanias*, is placed inwards in respect to *Clymene*. I suspect that their relative position indicated the sympathy that harmonizes with their not dissimilar fortunes, as *Megara* was deserted by *Hercules* on grounds that were no impeachment of her affection: the antithetic

contrast of the pair thus combined, to Chloris and Thyia, will not fail to be noted.

An antithesis seems also intended between Auge and Iphimedeia—consorts of heroes, and mothers of mighty sons, and the pretty little Pandarids who were snatched away by ruthless fate just at marriageable age, and never had husbands at all. The daughters of Pandarus are seasonal types like the daughter of Demeter, and like the children of Niobe, with whom their monumental story interchanges details very remarkably. Of the family of Niobe, one alone, the youngest, was spared; and it is an observation of Panofka, that this type was reproduced in the parallel mythus, as represented on the Lycian tomb, where the Harpies carry off four Pandarids, and one remains behind. But the obligation was mutual, and an Athenian artist has drawn on a marble slab the daughters of Niobe, engaged in the childish game of astragals, as Polygnotus long before painted the daughters of Pandarus at Delphi.

With respect to Oknos, it is certainly open to question whether Pausanias rightly renders the meaning of Polygnotus, as typifying in the destructive ass, the wastefulness of woman; but there is much in favour of the view, and it may have had better authority than is now forthcoming. Certainly, such a type is quite in accordance with the spirit of Hesiodic poetry, and agrees to the letter with one of the less favourable comparisons of Simonides of Amorgos. Oknos, at his toil, is suffering the punishment appropriate to husbands who, neglecting the maxims and warnings of the satirical moralists, are content to slave for the support of drones. Perhaps we may even recognise a glance at this theory of domestic economy, in the *Nekyia* of the Odyssey, in the invectives of Agamemnon against the sex, moralized by Ulysses in the observation, that certainly the family of Atreus had not been fortunate in their feminine alliances; though Homer is far above countenancing the shabby and ungrateful murmurs of the Bæotian.

Next to Oknos, and not without a motive, are the sisters Ariadne and Phædra; the fate of the latter, who hanged herself,

is delicately indicated by placing her in a swing; the expedient is characteristic of the sensitive taste of the painter, and was redeemed from the slightest imputation of conceit, by the currency of illustrative traditions. At the *Aiora* of Attica, the women were accustomed to swing, in commemoration, it was said, of an Attic heroine, Erigone, who hanged herself. The swinging scenes that occur on vases, allude to this festival; the little dog that is frequently introduced is the dog Maira, transferred, along with the maiden his mistress, to the stars: the dog is also traceable on coins.

The rope of Phædra might not suggest the more innocent twine of her sister—the labyrinthine clue she furnished to Theseus, but for the proximity to the pair, of the rope-twisting Oknos. I do not think this a mere coincidence; had the connexion of ideas not been intended, the occasion for it would not have been given, and Polygnotus would have avoided the delicate theme *dans la famille d'une pendue*. Of the sisters, Ariadne at least, as a wife, was more sinned against than sinning; and in her place, and with the suggestion I have noted, she appears to be the qualifying apology for the imputation in the group of Oknos.

Tyro is the first of the heroines in the enumeration of the Odyssey, and great is the glory of her family; but on what grounds she was associated with the traitress Eriphyle, who sold her lord for a trinket, I do not know, and have not even a conjecture to offer that is worth the space it would occupy in setting down.

There is suggestiveness in the proximity of Eriphyle to Ulysses—whether the painter intended it in this particular form or not, and we naturally compare the fortunes of the Argive prince, doomed through the faithlessness of his wife to quit the home he was never to return to, and of the husband of the faithful and discreet Penelope. A reminiscence from the Homeric scene in Hades helps the association,—the warning of Agamemnon to Ulysses to bear in mind his fate, and, true as Penelope might be, to return at first in disguise, and prove her well before he placed himself in

her power. The Ithacan makes no acknowledgment for the advice, but we may observe that he takes care to follow it.

Theseus and Pirithous, fixed to the eternal seats that detained them when they descended to Hades in the impious design to carry off Persephone, are placed in significant proximity to Ulysses, more prosperous in a better-advised adventure. The weapons that they still hold, while they recognise their uselessness in despair, assist in closing up the contrast to Ulysses, crouching with potent sword over the pit,—an observation made by Goethe. We need not wonder that Ariadne and Phædra were placed apart from Theseus, so entrapped on such an errand; and we have had a glimpse of a reason for their position near Oknos; and if by a parity of illustration we are bound to admit and inquire for the corresponding link between Theseus and Eriphyle, it is consistent that a type of a bad wife should be classed with one, whom his general character and actual disaster proclaim as no model for the best of husbands. Again, as the neighbour of Oknos, Ariadne, has relations to Theseus, so the neighbour of the Theseus, Eriphyle, the selfish perverter of the proper resources of Amphiaræus, wise beyond the sons of men but ruining all by uxorious concession, is anti-type of the evil helpmate of Oknos.

The detention of Theseus in Hades here, agrees with the story of the other picture, where the duty of alleviating the misfortune of his mother, Æthra, devolves on her more pious grandchildren. Athenians, one might think, would take in ill part this exhibition of their heroes' misdeeds and disasters, yet Polygnotus, we have assumed, had already a connexion with Athens. Was the honour of Theseus redeemed by the sequel of the story, in which he owed his release to the friendship of Hercules? At any rate the tradition probably had very general acceptance, and we must not assign to Polygnotus, engaged in adding to the adornments of the common fame of Greece, and in the inculcation of a dignified sentiment, the narrow purposes and unscrupulous one-sidedness of a party politician.

We now proceed to the next grand division of the picture,

which exhibits in Hades, the Greek and Trojan comrades and contemporaries of Ulysses at the Trojan war. We shall find the transition marked by a certain break in the sequence of groups, and the division thus established corresponds with the pause in the hero's narrative to Alcinous, when, having enumerated the earlier heroines he had seen, he finds it convenient suddenly to stop short, just as the chief interest of the adventure approaches, to propose retirement to sleep, and to pray his immediate despatch homewards. It is no impeachment of the character of the hero, to suppose that he was not taken by surprise when his entertainers pressed him to continue his narrative, renewed assurances of safe convoy home, and kept up his spirits meanwhile by more liberal promises of rich presents at parting. He recommences in good heart, and tells next of his interview with his former companions in arms. It is for us to follow the painter and archæologist:—

“After the daughters of Pandarus is Antilochus, with one foot upon a rock, and holding his face and head on his two hands; Agamemnon is after Antilochus, leaning on a sceptre under his left armpit, and elevating a staff with his hands. Protesilaus looks towards Achilles, who is seated, and above Achilles stands Patroclus. These are all beardless, with the exception of Agamemnon.

“Above them Phocus is painted, in age a youth, and Iaseus well bearded; he is taking a ring from the left hand of Phocus; apparently he wishes to examine it as a pledge of former attachment, and Phocus yields it for the purpose.

“Above these is Maira, seated on a rock, and in a line with Maira, Aktaion and his mother; they hold in their hands a fawn, and sit on the skin of a stag; a hound lies beside them.

“Looking again to the bottom part of the picture: in a line with Patroclus, on a sort of eminence, Orpheus is seated, his left hand on his lyre, while with his right he touches the twigs of a willow against which he leans. His costume is entirely Greek: he wears neither garment nor cap of Thrace. Against the willow on the other side leans Promedon.



"In this part of the painting is Schedios, the leader of the Phocians at Troy: he holds a sword and is crowned with *agrostis*, and after him Pelias, seated on a throne; he is hoary, both head and beard: he looks towards Orpheus. Thamyris sits near Pelias, blind, and in every way dejected; his hair, both of head and beard, is very profuse; a lyre is thrown at his feet, with horns and strings broken.

"Above Thamyris sits Marsyas on a rock, and Olympus by him, represented as a youth, and as if learning to play on the flute.

"But if you look again to the upper part of the picture, "there are in a line with Actæon, Salaminian (Telamonian) Ajax, and Palamedes playing at dice with Thersites. (Cf. PINDAR, *frag.* 95.) The other Ajax looks on at the game; his colour is that of a shipwrecked person, with the salt of the sea yet about his skin. Meleager is higher in the picture than Ajax Oileus. He looks towards Ajax. Of these, Palamedes alone is beardless.

"In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, is Hector, holding both his hands about his left knee, exhibiting the appearance of one in grief. After him is Memnon, seated on a rock, and Sarpedon grouped with Memnon. Sarpedon leans his head on both his hands; one of the hands of Memnon rests on his shoulder. All have beards; birds are wrought on the chlamys of Memnon. A naked Æthiop boy is beside Memnon.

"Above Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, without beard; he is clapping his hands (?), and the action appears as if intended to call Penthesileia to him; Penthesileia looks at Paris, but with an expression of contempt. She is represented as a maiden, with a Scythian bow, and a pard skin on her shoulders.

"Above Penthesileia are females carrying water in broken vessels; there is one still young, and one more advanced in age. The women have no inscription individually, but one common to both expresses that they are of the Uninitiated.

"Above these women is Kallisto, daughter of Lycaon, and Nomia, and Pero daughter of Neleus. Kallisto has a bear-skin for the cover of her couch; her feet lie in the lap of Nomia.

"After Kallisto and the women with her, a precipice is represented, and Sisyphus is straining to push the rock up to the precipice.

"There is in the picture also a *pithos*, (large jar or butt,) and an old man and a boy with women, a young one below the rock, (of Tantalus,) and an old one by the old man; the others are carrying water; the old woman has broken her pitcher, and what water is still left in it she is pouring out again into the *pithos*.

"Below the *pithos* is Tantalus, enduring all the miseries Homer assigns to him, with the addition of fear of the suspended stone; in respect to which, Polygnotus evidently follows Archilochus."

In this description we have numerous illustrations of the laxity with which Pausanias applies his prepositions, and it is fortunate that the course of the context repeatedly furnishes indications more conclusive and precise. Antilochus is *after* the Pandarids, who are *in a line with* Theseus, who is *below* Ulysses; but it is clear from the sequel that Antilochus is in the lowest line, and *after*, therefore, in this instance, means the next to be enumerated after, &c. We have already had an instance of this phraseology in the case of Oknos, who is in the same relative position to his antecedent as Antilochus—though not in the same row, the nearest neighbour. It seems necessary, however, to place the figures somewhat obliquely from the groups they come after, to account for their position not being rather indicated as *below* those groups.

*Above* (or *over*) is in itself as little determinate. Patroclus is *over* Achilles, but it is clear he belongs to the same row—the row above which is Phocus, above whom is Maira. So Paris and Penthesileia are *above* Memnon and Sarpedon in a very different sense to that in which, again, above them are the uninitiated women.

So, again, Meleager is *higher up* than Ajax, and Kallisto is *higher up* than the hydrophorai; but Meleager is clearly in the same general line as Ajax, for he is looking at him; and Kallisto

as clearly in a row above the water-carriers, for after her, in the same row, comes Sisyphus, who is *over* the *pithos*, and other water-bearers, who are *over* Tantalus.

Looking now at the present system of groups as developed, we find it exhibit very marked symmetry, or rather symmetrism, which is only modified to accommodate the natural articulation of the rest of the composition of which it forms a part.

It is the upper and lower rows that are here most closely occupied by figures; the middle row, in contrast to the first division, being comparatively open and unoccupied. On the lower line we have a group of five Greek heroes, answering to one of five Trojan worthies, and between them another group of five figures in which Orpheus is the chief person, and which asserts a central place in the arrangement by this parallelism at either side, by the interruption of the middle line by the tree, and by the distribution of other members. Above it is again a group of five Greek heroes, flanked symmetrically by two very analogous and corresponding groups, each consisting of three figures; and a like correspondence obtains between the two pairs of figures that flank the central space in the middle row.

If we now compare the two grand interior systems of groups, we observe that, while the important incident of the interview of Ulysses with Teiresias, gives animation to the first of them, it is in the second, with its more numerous and variously contrasted groups, and in its important and interesting heroes and larger space, that the art of Polygnotus found the greatest scope, and we therefore recognise again the same absence of technical counterpoise which we found and considered in the first painting. There is difference however, in the matter, which restores the general balance, inasmuch as, by a certain graphic polarity, it is at the terminal divisions of the double series that the chief energy becomes manifest; it is in the first portion of the commencing picture, and in the last of the concluding, that richness of association and pregnancy of meaning attain their

most emphatic expression; and thus it is only on arriving at the conclusion of the second picture, that the mind is contented with a sense of having received fulfilment of all the promise opened, but unsatisfied by the first. The awe of refining upon points that are either self-evident or hopelessly incommunicable, alone restrains me from pressing further the analogies between the correlative divisions of the two pictures, and between the principle observed in the apposition of the halves of the latter painting, and that which governs the general contrast of the two in their entirety.

We have now to do our best to find what was the principle of harmony in the inspiring and informing sentiment, that gave appropriateness to the figures selected, and their so closely studied ordination.

The triplet groups in the upper row, by analogy to the heroines of the first division, assist in blending the two, and again we find names, Maira and Pero, that occur in the Homeric *Nekyia*. Kallisto is seated on the skin of a bear, a type of her transformation into the animal; that her feet are placed on the lap of the Arcadian nymph Nomia—nymph, no doubt, of the Arcadian mountain Nomia, typifies, in a like spirit, the maiden's haunt of hill and forest while still in the train of Artemis. Pero is added to the group for a good reason, I doubt not, and perhaps to be found by searching for—but to me utterly unknown.

In the corresponding group, Maira so far answers to Kallisto, that, like her, she was slain by Artemis for faithlessness to the law of chastity, and her name also has astronomical relations. It were long to investigate the connexion between Maira, daughter of Prætus, and Maira the dog of Erigone, transferred as Canicula to the starry sphere; but the dog on a vase painting of Prætus and Bellerophon—the very same that enlivens the swinging scene of Erigone, convinces me that such there was. Pausanias notices that, according to the *Næstor*, Maira died a maiden; even in this version of the story, as prematurely cut

off, a victim of the arrows of the sister of Apollo. The dog of Orion is named Maira by some authorities.

Another victim of the wrath of Artemis is Actæon, the next figure, and another instance of transformation; the fawn held by his mother, and the hound beside him, hint at this, and the latter aids the association with Maira, as his story admitted in antiquity interpretations from the physical influence of the dogstar. It was not unintentionally that these personages found their place in the upper part of the picture.

The group of Greek heroes at the bottom of the picture has many remarkable points; and here, as elsewhere, we find Polygnotus observant of Homeric authority and precedent, at the same time that he freely diverges from it, in obedience to dictates of his own imagination and the promptings of his proper theme.

Antilochus and Patroclus are at opposite ends of the group—the latter close to Achilles, as they are his attendants in the *Odyssey*. The arrangement makes the presence of Achilles diffusive and dominant over the group, though, in accordance with Homer, Agamemnon takes precedence of him. What may be the significance of the *rabdos* held by the king of men, is a question that I have but to repeat, as I cannot answer it. His appearance here helps to unite the two compositions, and aids no little in the enforcement of their moral, by recalling the sad account that he gives to Ulysses of his catastrophe, the treachery of his wife, the fate of Cassandra, who is so ominously introduced in the scene of the oath of Ajax.

The figure of Agamemnon is in marked contrast to the other heroes of the group, all models of youthful military prowess as well as of the quick blood and warm sympathies of young enthusiasm. Though Antilochus stands as the friend loved best by Achilles after Patroclus, he is in the *Iliad* brought into direct personal relation with him only on the occasions of the announcement of the death of Patroclus and at his funeral games; hence it is that friendship and its end that his presence



recals: he shared the same tomb as Achilles, though not, like Patroclus, the same funeral urn—a preference corresponding with that given in the painting.

As Achilles expresses heroic friendship, so does Protesilaus heroic conjugal affection. The first of the Greeks to land on Trojan ground, and the first slain, he revisited earth for a three hours' interview with his wife,—such boon the gods accorded to the prayers of Laodameia, and at the expiration of the time she voluntarily died to accompany him to Hades. It is, then, not without meaning and significance of contrast that such a neighbour is given to Agamemnon, victim of the adulterous yet not unprovoked Clytemnestra. Allusion to such a story obviously befits a picture which has for its subject a descent to Hades—the intercourse of the upper and under worlds. With Achilles, towards whom, and thus away from Agamemnon, he looks, he is obviously more in sympathy,—with Achilles, whose yearning for the upper world, solicitude for the welfare of his childless and unprotected parent, and interest in the exploits and honour of his son, give tone and character to his discourse with Ulysses.

The introduction of Briseis, Diomedé, and Iphigénia in the first picture, prepared for the appearance and importance of Achilles and Patroclus in the second.

Antilochus, it may be added, sacrificing his life to save his father, Nestor, was the great heroic type of filial affection, the virtue that we have seen already enforced in the present picture, as the Pylian sage, the object of it, was prominent in the last. It may be said that there is nothing in the position of Antilochus whereby the reward of filial affection is very obviously set forth: this is true enough, and it is pleasing to recognise in the Greeks of this age, the theory of a duty paramount to calculation of what was to be got by it, either in the present world or a future.

It would be better, in the absence of an authority either way, that Protesilaus should be represented standing; and the words of Pausanias appear to require that the cheeks of

Antilochus should be enclosed within his hands, or at least rest on one of them.

Passing now to the group of Asiatic notabilities that answer to these five Greeks, the first is Hector, whose dejected expression seems due to reflection on the downfall of his nation, though the lines of Homer (*Iliad* xxii. 363) may be compared for what illustration they will give. Contrasted with him here, as in the *Iliad*, is Paris, who endeavours to engage the attention of Penthesileia—Paris still. He meets with only slighting regard, and one commentator has seen in this, the appropriate punishment in Hades of the professed lady-killer; but Paris, I doubt not, would readily persuade himself, with the usual philosophy of the frivolous—rational enough notwithstanding and better men may have occasion to envy them, that the loss was the lady's. In truth, I am disposed to consider that Pausanias misconstrues the gesture of Paris, or its intention, for there are notices enough to prove that a snap of the fingers had the same meaning—flippant disregard, in antiquity as now.

Between Paris and Penthesileia sit Memnon and Sarpedon together as friends; they have many characteristics in common; they both belong to the more remote allies of Troy: Sarpedon was slain by one of the friends of Achilles, and Memnon, more fortunate so far, slew Antilochus, the other, but only to meet his own fate from the spear of Achilles: victors and vanquished are thus in corresponding groups. Both Sarpedon and Memnon are of divine descent, and the body of either is carried away through the air by divine intervention for funereal honours. Compare the notice of the pair in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, v. p. 622.

On the robe of Memnon Polygnotus painted birds, in allusion to a mythus of his tomb on the Hellespont, and at his feet a naked Æthiopian, that is, a black boy—this evidently in concession to the associations with his name (*nigri Memnonis arma*, does not stand alone), though many monuments extant represent the prince, and his followers too, as of Hellenic pre-

sence, and also equipment, and so doubtless Homer conceived the slayer of Antilochus—the beauteous son of the Morning. Memnon and Penthesileia were distinguished in the Æthiopis of Arctinus; and that the beauty of the latter should attract Paris in the painting, is in accordance with its having suggested a slander against Achilles in the poem. Like Hector, she died by the hands of Achilles, and the close relations of the two groups are completed, by Paris having been with Apollo to aid—no derogation from the exploit, the slayer of Achilles himself. None of the Trojans are mentioned in the Homeric *Nekyia*.

Five more Greeks are grouped together at the top of the picture: first and single is Telamonian Ajax, the only one of the five mentioned in the Odyssey as seen by Ulysses. Next to him are Palamedes and Thersites playing at dice—the invention of the former; the lesser Ajax is looking on; he is stained with the brine from the shipwreck—punishment of his misdeeds, as set forth in the companion-picture, the sign of the disaster which his ancient enemy, Ulysses, is learning from Teiresias how he may avoid. Pausanias remarks that Polygnotus designedly placed the opponents and enemies of Ulysses together, and certainly we must admit the significance of the arrangement. Thersites, who fares so ill at the hands of Ulysses in the Iliad, might seem too mean for the painter's notice, but he was concerned importantly in the post-Homeric incidents. Palamedes was still more important in the Cyclic poems, and is not mentioned by Homer at all; it is very difficult to think that his story could have gained such place and favour in tradition, unless branches and germs of it were anterior to Homer, in which case the poet must have suppressed his concern in the Trojan war deliberately, and doubtless for good poetical reasons. Were these reasons his too great participation in the leading characteristics of Ulysses, and the troublesome imputation that tradition affixed to the latter, of having removed his rival by vile stratagem? So far as I can trace, the traditions as we have them are uniformly in favour of Palamedes, and against Ulysses, and I do not quite perceive how Polygnotus

qualified the ungracious reminiscence—if indeed he desired to do so, unless to make him an associate of such a gamester as Thersites was held to discredit him sufficiently.

Meleager closes the group. Homer tells how he was persecuted by Artemis, and Pausanias that he was, according to some poets, slain by Apollo. He also figures in tradition of a descent to Hades—that of Hercules, whom he seized the opportunity of engaging to marry his sister Deianira.

We now come to the central group of our secondary system, again composed of five figures, of whom the chief is evidently Orpheus; and surrounded as he is, it cannot be but that an important and crowning significance pertains to him.

To Schedios, however, the leader of the Phocians at the Trojan war, seems assignable the middle place, and he serves to vindicate the connexion of this group with those around it—with the other assailants and the defenders of Ilium. There is, then, a pair of figures on either side of him, and of each pair one figure is a bard—on one side sits Thamyris in an attitude of deep depression, deprived of sight, his lyre broken at his feet. He challenged the Muses to a trial of skill; the stake he proposed enhanced the insult and impiety, and he now suffers for his shameful failure. On the other side sits Orpheus, “on a sort of hill:” the best comment on the expression is to be found in the conventional indication of hills in the vase paintings; one hand is on his lyre, with the other he touches the twigs of a willow tree, type of the grove of Persephone.

Orpheus, as putative son of Apollo, has special claim to a place in a picture at Delphi, and Thamyris also had certain relations to the place, as his name occurred in the list of Pythian victors, in the early ages when the contest was a hymn to the god.—PAUS. x. 7.

The cause of the introduction of Pelias is not so obvious; but, in a dearth of even conjectures, I think it worth remarking that at the funeral games of Pelias, an occasion of such great renown, we are told by Hyginus (273), that Orpheus gained the prize with the lyre, and Olympus, pupil of Marsyas, with

the flute. Olympus and Marsyas thus gain an additional title to their place, besides their common relation to Delphi and its god. Meleager who appears in the group above Olympus was highly distinguished at the funeral games of Pelias. The Pythian nome was the work of the musician Olympus, whom the painter does not care to distinguish from his mythical prototype.

Phocus and Iaseus have claims to place from local relations, and correspond, as a group of an old man and a youth, to Olympus and Marsyas: some farther parallelism would be satisfactory, but none occurs to me.

Pausanias notices the profuse hair and beard given to Thamyris—they suggest the epithet *Σαμέης*; and the conjecture to an allusion to his name is quite fair, while like allusions are admitted in the white head of Pelias (*πολιός*), and the hand-to-hand weapon (*σχεδία*) of Schedios.

The meaning of the gesture of Orpheus, could we satisfactorily elicit it, would determine much. As Schedios is crowned with leaves from his native Parnassus—the *agrostis*, may we regard Orpheus as about to break off a wreath for his brows. Hercules, on his descent to Hades, cooled his brows with a wreath from the poplars of the same or a like grove of Persephone, and the underside of the leaf coloured by the sweat of the hero became white, and is so to this day. The story of the golden branch, which obtains for Æneas entrance to Hades, may be descended from the same associations; and, lastly, we find notice that the happy denizens of Elysium, those who enjoy the benefits of initiation, are crowned with chaplets. A passage in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, v. 1006, always reminds me of this group of Orpheus and his companion; but it may not be easy to communicate the force of the illustration.

Orpheus, then, I have no doubt was intended to be placed in triumphant contrast to the defeated and dejected Thamyris at the opposite end of the group, a contrast corresponding to that between Ulysses and the Ajaces; and this is quite in ac-



cordance with his remarkable relations to the under-world and to mystical initiations.

By this significance, of which more remains to be said, the son of Apollo has the same subjective pre-eminence in the second half of the painting, that belongs to Ulysses in the first. Neither of these protagonists, however, occupies the exact centre of his proper symmetrical system, and it is thus that Polygnotus preserved the feeling that those systems are dependent parts, not independent or even companion wholes, and caused them, we may say, mutually to gravitate towards each other. Ulysses verges to the right of one side on the upper row, Orpheus to the left of the other on the lower line: and thus, in distribution correlative yet contrasted, they throw the balance of import towards each other, and towards the middle line of the picture, and compensate, by a pictorial *cæsura*, for the weakness and blankness of the space so strongly occupied in the companion picture; and thus was braced a system of unity and purport such as no restoration we can provide will adequately set forth.

Among the first figures enumerated in this picture were, as we have seen, Tellis and Cleobolia, of Paros and Thasos, representatives of the worship of Demeter, and the introduction of her mysteries into the latter island. The great interest of these mysteries centered in the influence assigned to them in procuring for the Initiates safety through the perils of Hades, and happy return in due time to upper light; hence the appropriateness of the allusion, in a picture representing a successful descent to Hades, for such mythical descents and re-ascents, whether of god or hero—of Dionusos, or Kore, or Herakles, and therefore by analogy of Ulysses, were held to be types and guarantees of the true hope held out to the Initiate. So the safe return of Hercules was distinctly ascribed to his previous initiation; and in the picture before us we see the fate of the uninitiated confessedly typified in the endless and hopeless occupation of the hydrophoria—whether to fill a leaky cask, or broken pitchers. Now Orpheus had himself descended to Hades and returned, and he was accepted, in a certain range of tradition, as the great

mystagogue—the great inculcator of the futility of the fears of death, and the great example of the truth and reality of his doctrine. See the most important literary authorities,—Lobeck; *Aglaophamus*, p. 238.

Authorities as important for our present purpose are the pictorial decorations of Greek vases from Lower Italy. They present us with Orpheus in a scene of the under-world, and types of all the ideas that are so significantly assembled by Polygnotus. Orpheus, the mystagogue, in the Thracian costume which Pausanias is evidently surprised to miss, advances playing on his lyre to the palace of Hades and Persephone, and the Initiated are sometimes following, sometimes stand listening to him, and regarding him with attention like the Promedon—otherwise unknown, of our painting. Above are the powers or priestesses of the mysteries, clearly marked by their symbols, and mythical examples of respect or contempt for the solemnities—the Dioscuri, or Theseus and Pirithous. Below, Hercules, divinely conducted, drags the triple-headed Cerberus, undismayed by the Furies. Around, and bounding the scene, as in our painting, are the punishments of Sisyphus, Tantalus, &c.

One remarkable difference there is between the painting of Polygnotus and the vases: in our painting, the Uninitiated are typified by figures of various ages and either sex, who are engaged in the futile task of carrying water in leaking vessels; but on the vases, the maidens with vases in the scenes of the under-world are evidently not represented as punished, but rather as cheerfully celebrating a sacred rite. The analysis of the incongruity is a subject in itself. I can only notice here, that the punishment ascribed to the Danaids in Hades is clearly traceable by historical notices, to the polemical ingenuity of rival sanctuaries: the Argives claimed for the Danaids the honour of introducing the mysteries of Demeter into Greece, and rival claimants replied by assigning to the Danaids a place among the types of impiety in their Hades, and transforming their most sacred rite into a symbol of the imputed futility of their offices.

There can be little doubt that Pausanias was right in asso-

ciating the group around the *pithos* with the two water-carrying females, to whom the inscription *Uninitiated* was more immediately attached. There is, however, a little uncertainty as to their exact occupation; the words of the description appear to imply that the four figures were carrying water from, not to, the *pithos*, as one of them, whose pitcher is broken, is said to be pouring back what water remained. The sense and intention of the group, however, would remain the same, and the variation of the circumstances may be safely interpreted as nothing more than one of the fanciful, or more than fanciful, alterations in which, as we have seen, the painter asserts his right of originality.

From the illustration that the vase paintings mutually afford to each other, and derive in common from literature, their general significance under all variety of treatment is sufficiently recognisable, and in its leading lines is the same, and is that of the paintings of Polygnotus. In the practice of natural piety and respect for consecrated things, conjoined with conformity to certain symbolical rituals, of all which the initiating ministers of whom Orpheus was a type, were the great instruments and interpreters, lay the hope of the Greek religionist for peace in the grave and life beyond it. But as mere doctrine and inculcation tell but with secondary force, to promises that such would be the efficacy of worthy initiation, was added distinct averment that such it had been; thus the Dioscuri, thus Herakles, thus Orpheus or Ulysses, had surmounted the perils of the nether world—to pass over Dionusos, himself a god though son of Senele, and who, though a god, was precedent for human hope, like Egyptian Osiris, by himself having submitted to violent death, the condition of his triumph. Warning was as little wanting as example, and Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, with a band of worthy comates, completed the requisite hieratic apparatus.

But what belief and what influence could such inventions, in which allegory, and poetry, and arbitrary fiction, come forward into notorious daylight so constantly, have over reasonable beings—over Greeks? The question is no slight one:

that influence they did command, I must here assume, and it is most certain. It is another question whether such result was dependent on the peculiar state of the popular mind at a certain stage of historical development, or whether it exists as a permanent characteristic; and it behoves one who would be satisfied on this head, to examine whether he himself is so free from the weakness as to be entitled to propose the question; or, not being so, whether he is prepared to entertain temperately whatever suggestions the discussion, conscientiously conducted, may be found to lead up to.

Western Paganism had exhausted its last development, and was verging inevitably to the decrepitude that is unto death, when the forms of fable, in which it had so variously, but ever with a certain pervading homogeneousness, found expression for more teaching than it ever dogmatized, were confronted and compared with the substantial incidents—the promises and precedents, of a new faith. It is difficult at the present day for any but archæologists to appreciate the liveliness with which the Jewish controversialist, Tryphon, recognises in the supernatural story, urged upon his credence by evidence from his own prophetic books, nothing but the reproduction in yet another mythus—informed with whatever spirit, of the staple theory of man that the world was tired of, that had seemed effete and on the point of dying out. The analogy is not denied nor evaded by Justin Martyr, who conducts and records the deliberation. Few among us now, it is true, will assent to his confident solution of the difficulty, by ascribing the resemblance to the *finesse* of devils—prescient of the coming revelation, and preparing for confusion and cavils; but we must admire the candour with which the Father accepts his adversary's challenge for an answer, and look forward to the appearance of an inquirer and expositor, of better historical acumen but only equal self-respect, for the elucidation of one of the most interesting questions connected with the history and progress of our race.

WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.

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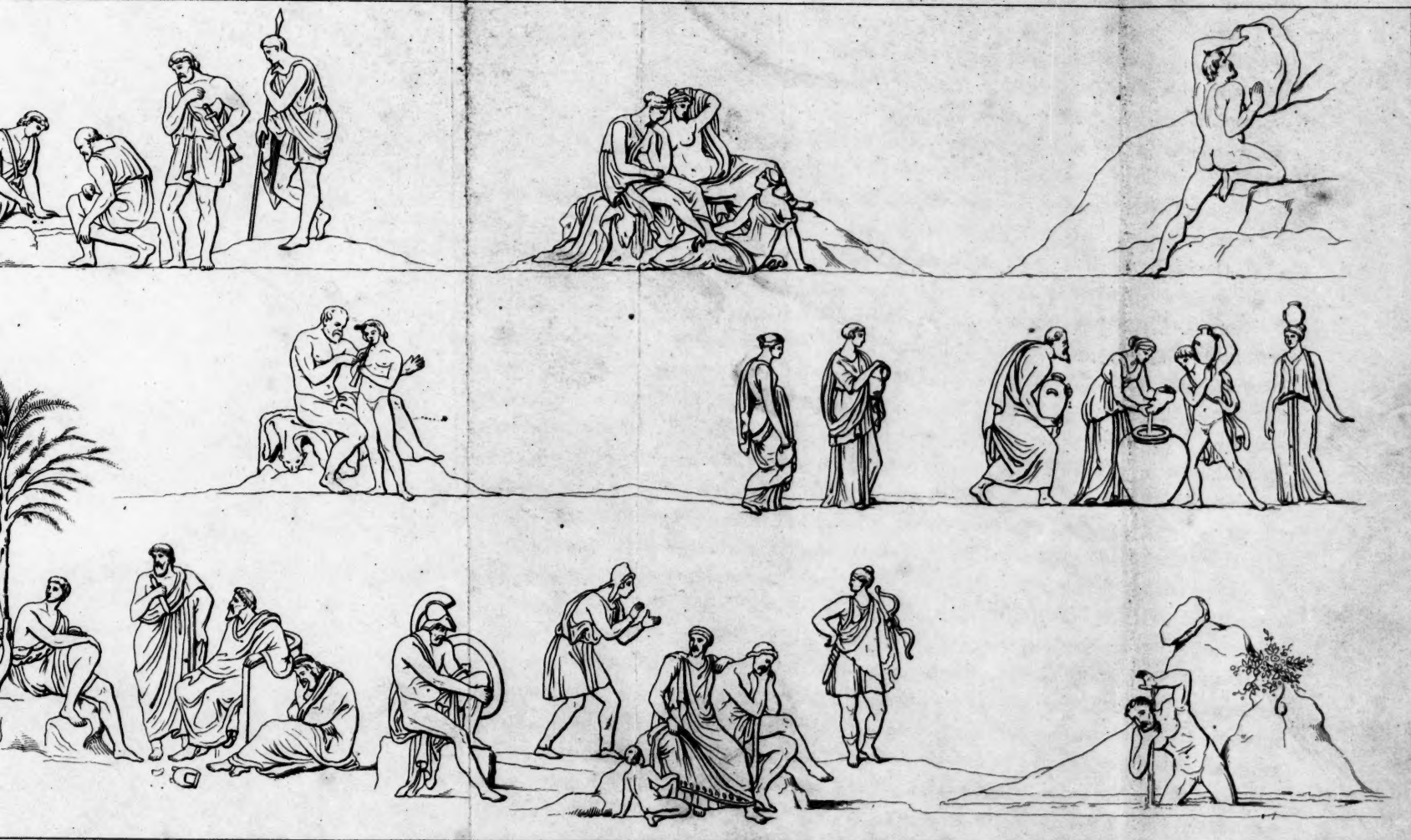
Figures and groups after Ruspenthaler, re-arranged by W. Watkins Lloyd.



THE



THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS, IN THE LESCHÉ AT DELPHI.  
 II. THE PAINTING ON THE LEFT HAND.  
 THE DESCENT OF ULYSSES TO HADES.



Joseph's Son, Lying to the Queen.





## XIV.

ON THE SCULPTURES OF THE IONIC MONUMENT  
AT XANTHUS,  
DISCOVERED BY SIR CHARLES FELLOWS.\*

**I**N an age so distinguished by the researches of men of learning, the discoveries of zealous and enterprising travellers,—by whose labours we are enlightened and instructed, and through whom we are enabled to behold the acts and monuments, the manners and customs, of ages almost obliterated and swept from the records of time,—are entitled to the highest praise.

By the labours of such individuals we are enabled to obtain a just and correct knowledge of the religion, legends, and traditions of various and distant people, tracing the progress of each from its distant and original source, and thus to clear up many obscure passages, and to explain satisfactorily many historical events, of which few or very slight records at present remain: and it is thus that many facts recorded by ancient historians, and which the changes of ideas and customs in modern ages had condemned as fabrications, have been fully verified and confirmed.

Among late discoveries of this description, we may class the monument recently discovered in Lycia by Sir Charles Fellows; a monument in itself of the highest importance as regards the sculpture with which it is adorned, and the remote and interesting historical events which its bas-reliefs clearly reveal to us. We cannot but admire the zeal and perseverance

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\* This Paper has been kindly presented by the Council of the British Archaeological Association.

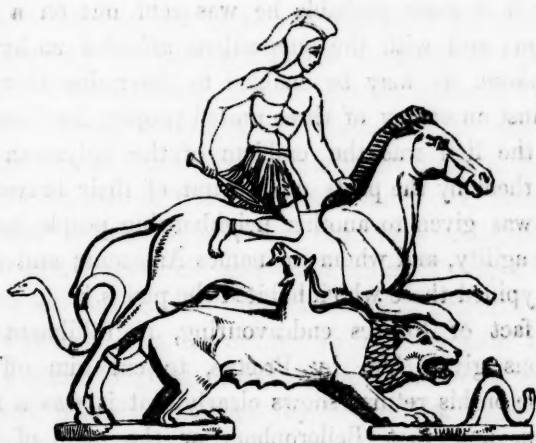
with which our enterprising traveller and countryman prosecuted his researches, and the ability and intelligence with which he conducted the excavations, so as to bring forth and restore to light a monument which had been lost for so many ages, and which is so important as illustrating an event recorded by the great Father of History,—the conquest of Lycia by the united forces of the Persians and Ionians. That this is the subject of the monument it will be my endeavour to prove, from the facts recorded to us by ancient authors, and from an examination of the structure itself.

The monument occupied the summit of a gentle eminence, standing on the edge of a cliff of nearly thirty feet in height, and situated about a mile from the city of Xanthus. The base of the monument measures thirty-three feet in length by twenty-two in breadth, and is of the natural stone of the country. The superstructure is of white marble; the pedestal of which is adorned with two rows of bas-reliefs—the lower and larger one representing a general battle of horse and foot, and the upper series offering all the incidents consequent to the siege and taking of a town. Upon this stylobate stood a peristyle, of four columns at each end and five on each side. They are of the Ionic order, and the building terminates with a ridge roof, and pediment at each end. A female statue in light drapery, with an emblem at her feet, occupies each intercolumniation. On the apex of the front pediment are two male statues, holding up a boy. The frieze of the entablature has hunting and battle scenes at the sides, and Persians and Greeks bearing offerings at either end. The frieze of the cella, within the peristyle, is ornamented with representations of funereal ceremonies.

In these relievos we see clearly people of distinct nations, as is manifest from the difference of costume. To know who they are, and who they represent, it will be necessary to refer slightly to those events of Lycian history which may throw light on the subjects represented in the sculptures of this monument, which, from its differing so essentially from every other object in this

country in its style of art, naturally leads us to conceive that it owes its origin to some foreign influence.

The fabulous history of Lycia records to us the myths of Bellerophon, and of the carrying away of the daughters of Pandarus by the Harpies. The latter event is represented on, and has given its name to, one of the stelæ in the city of Xanthus. The accompanying representation of the story of Bellerophon is taken from a beautiful terra-cotta found in the island of Melos, and now in the British Museum. It is of early Greek art, anterior to the time of Phidias; and this corresponds with the fact, that the ancient poets make no reference to a winged Pegasus. It bears evidence of having once been decorated with colour.\*



Bellerophon, a son of the king of Corinth, having murdered his brother, fled to the court of Prætus, king of Argos. Being unjustly accused of intriguing with the king's wife, he was sent to Iobates, king of Lycia, bearing instructions for his own death. For this purpose Iobates furnishes him with troops, and

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\* A very beautiful and superb Roman mosaic pavement representing this subject, discovered at Autun, in France, has lately been exhibited in this country.

directs him to kill the Chimera, a horrible monster, described by Hesiod as having the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a dragon, which was possessed of great velocity, which belched forth fire from its mouth, and which had for a long time laid waste Lycia.\* Now the poets have generally interpreted this extravagant animal by the supposition, that it might have been a formidable volcano of this name in the Gulf of Telmessus, the summit being inhabited by lions, the centre by goats, and the foot of the mountain by serpents; and that the fable originated from Bellerophon's having reduced this tract of land and rendered it habitable.

Now it is absurd to suppose that Iobates would send Bellerophon with troops to the impossible task of destroying a volcano: it is most probable he was sent out on a military expedition; and with the suggestions afforded us by Tzetzes on *Lycophron*, we may be enabled to determine that he was sent against an enemy of three united people: for Tzetzes tells us that the lion was the emblem of the Solymean people, given to them by the poets on account of their bravery; that the goat was given to another neighbouring people, celebrated for their agility, and whom he names Amazons; and that the serpent typified those who inhabited the plains.†

The fact of Iobates endeavouring, in fulfilment of the instructions given him by Prætus, to cut him off in an ambuscade on his return, shows clearly that it was a military expedition, and that Bellerophon, or the man of council, (*Βουληφόρος ἀνὴρ*), had destroyed the confederacy and conquered them. With this mythical introduction, we proceed to the historical description of the country.

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\* From this animal, Hesiod tells us the Greeks derive the origin of their Sphinx: hence Bellerophon, Pegasus, and the Sphinx, occur frequently in the sculptures and on the coins of Lycia. The coins of Grecian Lycia, however, present the head and emblems of Apollo, whose worship in later times generally prevailed through the whole country.

† See also HOMER, *Il.* vi.

Lycia is a maritime province of Asia Minor, of peculiar interest, whether it be with respect to its historical records, or for the remarkable contrast of its past and prosperous condition with its fall and present desolation. Lycia was the ancient Mylias, bounded on the north by Phrygia, on the east by Pamphylia, on the west by Caria, and on the south by the Mediterranean. Xanthus was the capital, on the banks of the river of the same name. During the period of ancient civilization, this region was greatly populated. In the time of Pliny there were thirty-six cities in Lycia, and before that period there were thrice that number.

The most ancient notice we have of the people of Lycia is furnished by Homer and Herodotus. They were courageous and valiant warriors, and especially renowned for their dexterity in throwing the dart, and in the handling of their arms. The prince of poets frequently mentions the name of Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, who signalized himself in the war of Troy against the Greeks: and he also records the deeds of Sarpedon, king of Lycia, and of Glaucus, who came to the assistance of the Trojans,\* "bringing with him numerous squadrons from a great distance, from Lycia and the winding Xanthus." Herodotus tells us, that the city of Xanthus was originally peopled by the Cretans, who, according to the common tradition, founded a small kingdom under the government of Sarpedon; this colony being a different one from that which he had formerly sent into Asia Minor, when he had ineffectually contested the crown with his brother Minos, king of Crete. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being driven from Athens by his brother Egeus, joined Sarpedon at Termilæ, and succeeded him as king, and from him the country was called Lycia.

Defended by its fastnesses, and the bravery of its inhabitants, Lycia had constantly maintained its independence; but on the death of Cræsus, Cyrus turning his attention to

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\* HOMER, *II.* v.



Asia Minor, sent an expedition to bring it into subjection. After reducing Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, and incorporating them with his armies, Harpagus marched immediately to the plains of Lycia, and proceeded to the capital. As Herodotus gives us so clear an account of his proceedings, we will quote it in his own words:—

“When Harpagus moved his army to the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians drew out their forces, few against the many, and gave proof of the greatest valour; but being overcome in battle, and driven back into the city, they collected into the citadel their wives, children, servants, and treasures; then setting fire to the citadel, the whole were consumed. This done, they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths; when, sallying forth and fighting valiantly, all the Xanthians were cut to pieces. The Lycians who at the present time claim to be Xanthians are all foreigners, excepting eighty families, who at that time happened to be abroad, and so they survived. Thus Harpagus gained possession of Lycia, and in a similar manner he possessed himself of Caunus, for the Caunians, for the greater part, imitated the Lycians.”\*

Every incident here narrated we find depicted in the sculptures of this monument, which thus becomes of twofold interest; interesting from its characters as a work of art, and from its accordance with and corroboration of ancient history. Thus in the larger frieze of the pedestal, we have the general battle of horse and foot, “the fight of the few against the many.” In this spirited composition we may distinguish a style totally distinct from, and much more advanced than, the Archaic style of Lycian art, and nearly approaching the compositions of the Phigalean frieze, but not so correct in their proportions. The artist has illustrated this part of the composition with such incidents as are consequent to a general battle, and which add to its spirit and interest. Thus, in one of the sculptures

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\* HEROD., i. 176.

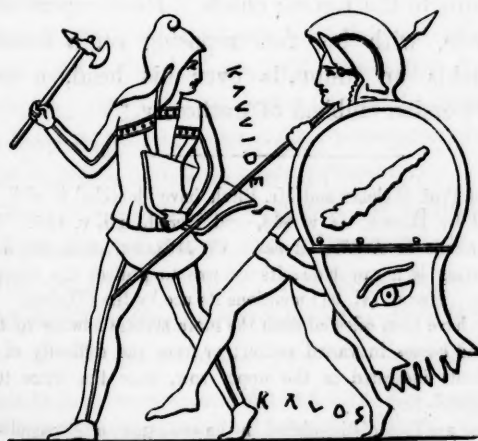
we see a Greek soldier who has struck his lance through the head of a Lycian. He has placed his foot on the prostrate foe, and is drawing back his lance, notwithstanding the resistance of his unhappy victim: an incident which I do not remember to have seen in any other ancient bas-relief, though we meet with similar incidents in the poets.

"Fierce from his knees the hapless chief he thrust,  
The monarch's javelin stretch'd him in the dust,  
Then pressing with his foot his panting heart,  
Forth from the slain he tugg'd the reeking dart."

HOMER, *Il.* vi. 61.

An interesting peculiarity exhibited in these sculptures is afforded by the circumstance, that several of the figures carry shields, to which is attached a piece of dependent drapery. A similar appendage is frequently seen on the painted vases, but this is the only instance among the bas-reliefs of antiquity in which it is represented.

In a beautiful Greek vase published by Inghirami, we have an Amazon leading a Greek warrior, which, as explained by Millingen, represents Antiope leading Theseus to the walls of Thesmiscyra. To the shield of Theseus is attached this pendent drapery, on which an eye is painted in strong lines. It is fixed



to the shield by a bar and rivets, precisely in the manner indicated in the bas-reliefs.

This appendage\* may probably have been made of leather, with the eye painted upon it as an emblem of vigilance. On many parts of the sculptures before us we have faint traces of painted lines, and I doubt not the eye has been indicated upon these shields, although no trace of colour is now to be found.

We have three instances of its representation in these sculptures: one occurs in the large frieze already mentioned, the others in the smaller frieze. It is borne by a Lycian, heading a sally from the gate of the besieged city, and it distinguishes one of the chiefs assembled before Harpagus. From these circumstances, we may conclude that they were the badges of leaders, (*στρατηγοί*), or officers; and that Theseus is thus distinguished as being the leader of the Grecian army.

The subject of the larger frieze appears, from the space allotted to it, to have been judged of greater consequence than the other bas-reliefs, the broad band being equal to the upper band and cornice together.† This upper series contains the incidents consequent on the termination of the war.

The principal group is that of Harpagus, in the act of dictating terms to the Lycian chiefs. He is represented seated on his throne, with his feet reposing on a footstool. An attendant holds an umbrella over his head, a well-known eastern and Persian emblem of authority.‡

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\* I find that Prof. Welcker and Mr. Birch have identified it with the *λαίσκιον*. It is mentioned by Homer, *Il.* v. 453, and Herod., *xii.* v. 426. It is always applied to Barbarians or Asiatic Greeks. Cf. MÜLLER, *Arch. der Kunst.*, § 342, n. 6. The covering is a raw hide: its use was to protect the lower limbs from arrows or stones. Herod. (vi. 91) mentions its use by the Cilicians.

† Or it may have been selected from the more artistic flowing of the lines produced by men and horses in varied action; or from the difficulty of representing the many incidents indicated in the upper row, were the frieze to have been increased in height.—ED.

‡ The princes are thus distinguished in the sculptures of Persepolis.



On his head he wears the cap which is commonly called Phrygian, and which may show the common intercourse which these nations had with each other. Something similar is described by Strabo, xv. 3: and the same cap is seen on the group of the Persian Mithra.

Behind Harpagus are the principal leaders of the Grecian allies, and before him stand the Lycian chiefs, recognisable by their dress and long hair, as described by Strabo. The action of Harpagus is dignified and severe. His right arm is elevated, and he appears to be dictating his terms to them as a conqueror. The action of the Lycian chiefs, on the other hand, is simple, natural, and noble: though vanquished, they stand firm, and answer the Persian general with dignity and composure.

In another compartment are four Lycian prisoners, with their hands tied behind them, and conducted by soldiers in front and rear. As their backs are turned from the city, they may have been separated from their countrymen in their hasty retreat to the gates, and thus made prisoners.

The next compartment represents the taking of the city, the representation of which perfectly resembles the peculiar architecture of this country. Soldiers are seen mounting the scaling ladders;\* others, kneeling down, hold the ropes which

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\* Engines for sieges were invented and used in the East many years before the Greeks of Europe appear to have had any knowledge of them.

fasten the ladders to the walls; while others, again, crouch behind their shields, to protect themselves from the missiles thrown by the besieged. The conception is spirited, and each figure in energetic and appropriate action.

In another, we have the sally from the gates. The Lycians are led, as has been before mentioned, by the figure with the *λαισήιον*. The Xanthians appear to be throwing stones, such stones as are described by Homer:—

Οἱ δ' ἄρα χερμαδίοισιν εὐδήμων ἀπὸ πύργων  
Βαλλον . . . .

*Il.* xii. 154.

This sally brings us to the great and last catastrophe of the war, so well described by Herodotus—"When sallying forth and fighting valiantly, all the Xanthians were cut to pieces."

The principal compartments of the bas-reliefs on the basement of the monument being now described, we proceed to speak of the statues which adorn the intercolumniations of the peristyle. A very ingenious idea has been published,\* appropriating these statues to the Nereids; but however plausible such an hypothesis may appear, it destroys the connexion of the monument with the history of its erection, and dispels that unity and harmony which are so conspicuous in all the works of the great artists of antiquity, and for which they are so justly and greatly admired.

Now, as we have seen that the fall of Xanthus, and the consequent subjection of Lycia, is represented on these bas-reliefs,—then, that the statues of the peristyle must be subservient and relative to the same event, will be equally clear, when we take into consideration the universal custom of the ancients of erecting trophies in memorial of their conquests. Jealous lest oblivion should throw her dark veil over their exploits, they were ever anxious to hand down testimonials of their valour to their latest posterity.

\* *Xanthian Marbles: the Nereid Monument*, by WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD, (8vo, Pickering, 1845,) the merits of which we cannot here discuss.—ED.



At first their trophies were formed of the arms taken from the enemy on the field of battle. Afterwards they became more costly in their substance, and were erected of more permanent materials, as stone or marble.

These statues having each a distinct and separate emblem at their feet, as a fish, a dolphin, a crab, a dove, a snake, a shell, &c., gives them at once a positive and definite character. Believing, then, these emblems to be peculiar attributes, I look upon the statues as personifications of the cities and people of Ionia and Æolia, who furnished the contingents to augment the army of Harpagus,\* and conjointly with whom he conquered the Xanthians. This opinion I will endeavour to establish by reference to the coins of these cities, these affording the surest data by which we may obtain information.

## MILETUS.



On the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, the Milesians alone, of all the Ionians, were received into alliance by Cyrus, and as allies they must have rendered essential aid in the conquest of Lycia.

The city of the Milesians was the capital of Ionia: it was founded by Miletus the Cretan, and we find several medals struck to his honour; this being one of the few cities whose

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\* The name of Harpagus being given to a Median prince has been matter of surprise to some, it being a word of pure Greek origin, if it be not a Hellenized equivalent for this name in the Persian. I am inclined to believe that as it was the custom, particularly of the eastern nations, for their princes to assume epithets and titles taken from their divinities, or from some remarkable circumstance, it might be an epithet assumed by the lieutenant of Cyrus, who might have styled himself the *rapacious* or *exterminating sword*. The custom was very prevalent among the Greeks in early times, as Homer constantly applies various titles both to the gods and heroes.

† A silver Drachm. Brit. Mus.

founders are known by the coins or medals struck in commemoration of the event. The Milesians eventually rose to such eminence, that they founded upwards of eighty cities in different places, chiefly maritime.

The city was famous for the Oracle and Temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ. It was burnt by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt with such extraordinary magnificence, that, from the testimony of Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that in the erection of this monument Miletus should hold a conspicuous position. The Branchidæan Apollo was the protecting deity of the Milesians, who, among other various names, as we are informed by Strabo, called him *Salutiferus*, regarding him as the protecting and healing god: whence, having the same attributes, he is easily confounded with his son Æsculapius.\*

The figure of Apollo occurs on the coins of Miletus, on the reverse of which is a lion, an emblem of the people. In the Museum San Clementi are two coins of this city: one has a figure of Apollo with his bow in his left hand, and apparently holding a stag in his right: on the disk are seen the two initial letters of the name of the city, M I, (the I being placed in the middle of the M,) and on the reverse a lion, with an inscription beneath, probably the name of a magistrate. On the other is the head of Apollo, and on the reverse a lion, near the mane of which are the initials, M I, of the city. With the assistance of Strabo and Spanheim, we may explain the snake or serpent†

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\* Vide SPANHEIM, *De Præst. et Ueu Numm.*

† The only instance we can find of a serpent appearing as an emblem of this city, is in Mionnet: "— NEPQN . . . . . Tête laurée de Néron à gauche. R — EΠΙ . ΤΙ . ΜΙΑΗΤΟC. Miletus en habit militaire, debout, entre deux proues de vaisseau, tourné à gauche: il tient de la main droite une épée, autour de laquelle est un serpent, et de la gauche une lance transversale."—MIONNET, *Suppl. Ionie*, No. 1252. Mr. Gibson, to whom we have communicated this coin, considers it interesting, in showing the connexion between the worship of Apollo and the adoration of the sun by the ancient Assyrians, whom they represented as holding a sword.—ED.

at the feet of one of the statues as having direct reference to the city of Miletus; while the lions which occupy the end intercolumniations may, by the help of the coins, be shown to refer to the Milesian people.

As the ancients were greatly attached to their early symbols, and regarded them with reverential and religious veneration, they constantly adhered to the primitive type in representing them, a circumstance which may account for the Archaic style of these animals.

PHOCÆA.



Phocæa was the first of the Ionian cities which fell into the hands of Harpagus. Herodotus narrates that the Phocæans were unwilling to submit to his yoke, and determined to defend their liberties to the utmost. Being hard pressed, they demanded a day to consider of his terms, which Harpagus granted, though he professed to know their intention in asking it. The Phocæans fled by sea, leaving their town empty, and binding themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa till a large red hot mass of iron, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. But during the voyage the greater part of them were seized with such regret at leaving their former and ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa,† and, submitting to the invader, must also have increased his army with their contingents.

On several of the coins of Phocæa we find a wolf seizing a fish, as represented in the above woodcut. Hardouin was the first to point out this fish to be the phoca. Though some

\* A Greek Imperial Coin. Brit. Mus. † Autonomus Coin. Brit. Mus.

‡ HEROD., i. 164-5.

numismatists have disputed it, his opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Stephanus Byzantinus, who says:—"The Ionian city, Phocæa, was so called because many phocæ followed the founders;" and Sistinus shows that this fish is the dog-fish, which abounds in those seas. The wolf is said to have been regarded by the Egyptians as the emblem of the course of the sun, and the animal was also dedicated to Apollo, or the sun, by the Greeks. Macrobius says the year was anciently called by the Greeks *λυκάβαρτα*, which Pier. Valeriano derives from *λύχω*, signifying a wolf.

The letter L occurs on several medals, and has been mostly taken as a numeral by the older numismatists; but as the Greeks adopted two forms of the *λαμβδα*, the *Λ* and the *Λ*, and this last form is used on coins for the word *Λυκάβαρτος*, the year, so the wolf on this coin may refer to the year when the colony was founded; or as the inhabitants of these coasts were expert mariners, and occupied with fisheries, it might refer to the time of year when these fisheries took place, for something of the kind is intimated by *Ælian*\* as having existed on the lake *Mæotis*, at a place called *Canopium*.

COS.



When Harpagus had subdued the Ionians on the continent, the inhabitants of the islands, terrified at the fate of their brethren, immediately submitted.

In the statue with the crab at her feet, we have the emblem of the Island of Cos. This island was anciently known by

\* V. H., vi. 65.

† A silver Tetradrachm. Brit. Mus.

various name, as Cea, Staphylus, Nymphæa, and Meropis.\* It contained a very celebrated temple of Æsculapius, as also an equally celebrated and more ancient one of Juno, concerning which Theodorus wrote a treatise.† The crab was dedicated to this divinity, and was by her placed among the constellations.‡ Hence the crab occurs frequently on the coins of this island. Mionnet gives seventeen such coins, bearing the head of Hercules with the lion's skin, and the crab on the reverse. Sometimes they are seen with a figure of Apollo before a tripod, and on the reverse a crab; and, again, with a female head, and on the reverse a crab; with a club placed horizontally, and the name of a magistrate beneath. The crab also appears on the coins of Agrigentum, that city being a colony of Cos.

MYRINA ÆOLIDIS.



A maritime town of Æolia, and named by Herodotus as one of the eleven cities of Æolia.

Two cities of this name are met with in ancient authors,—one in the Isle of Lemnos, which was noted for the shadow of Mount Athos falling into its forum when the sun was in the solstice, and the other this Æolian town of Herodotus. Strabo§ says that it derived its name from Myrina, an Amazon.

A coin attributed to the city represents a *dolphin*, beneath which is a trident, with the inscription MY P. From this animal, therefore, we may conclude that the city of Myrina is represented by the statue which has a dolphin at her feet.

\* THUC., viii. 41.

† VITR., lib. vii.

‡ HYG., *Poet. Astr.*

§ LIB. xiii.



## PYRNU.S.



This city of Caria is noticed by Stephanus. It is mentioned by Pliny:† by some it is also called Urnus. On the coins of Pyrna a head of Apollo in full is seen, and on the reverse a marine shell.

So little is said about this city by ancient authors, that scarcely more than the name can be determined.

Grynea is mentioned by Herodotus after he names Myrina. Stephanus calls it a small town of the Cyrenians; but here the text is evidently corrupt, for instead of reading Γρύνοι Πολιχνιον Κυρηναίων, it should be, according to Strabo,‡ Πολιχνιον Μυριναίων. He says,—“then Grynea, a small town of the Myrineans, which had a temple of Apollo built of fine white stone, and an ancient Oracle, known as the Grynean Apollo.” In the time of Pliny there only remained the port. On the coins of this city are found the head of Apollo in front, with the crown of laurel, and on the reverse the inscription ΓΥΡ, and the emblem of the city, a marine bivalve shell.§ From this shell we are enabled to appropriate another of the statues.

## CNIDUS.



The Cnidians were a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territory occupied the peninsula called Triopium. On the north they

\* An Autonomous copper Coin. Brit. Mus.

† *H. N.*, v. 28. ‡ *Lib.* xiii.

§ It is the *Pinna*, a molluscous animal of the conchiferous class.—ED.

were bounded by the bay of Ceramus, and on the south by the sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes.

It was while under apprehension of being attacked by Harpagus that they purposed converting this promontory to an island, but were dissuaded from so doing by the Oracle, which said:—

“Nor build, nor dig: for wiser Heaven  
Had, were it best, an island given.”

The city of Cnidus was famous for the worship of Venus, and it became still more celebrated, at a later period, from possessing one of the finest works of Praxiteles,—his statue of Venus.

The worship of Venus was very ancient, and long prevalent in the East, especially among the Assyrians. The name they gave her was Mylitta. She was worshipped under the title of Urania, or the Divine, and considered to be the general principle of vivifying life. But in the transition of her worship to the Greeks this idea was soon lost sight of, and she became the goddess of love and pleasure.

The dove was sacred to her, and the Babylonians held her in especial reverence. They adopted the dove as their national emblem, and placed it on their standards. Thus, in Jeremiah,\* we read in the Vulgate:—“Their land was made desolate by the face and wrath of the dove.”

From this place her worship appears to have extended to Ascalon, on the coins of which city we behold a female figure with an acrostolium in her left hand, an altar before her, and behind her a dove.

The worship of Venus next established itself in Asia Minor, and at Cnidus became very famous, in which city she had a splendid temple. It was open on every side, so that the statue of the goddess could be seen perfectly from every point of view.

From Cnidus her worship passed to Troas, and from thence to Erix in Sicily, where she had a magnificent temple: and here doves were held as sacred as they were either in Palestine or Syria. Two days in the year were kept as solemn festivals; the one called *Απαγωγια*, or the Departure, at which time, as the doves had disappeared Venus was supposed to depart over sea and leave the island; and the other, *Καταγωγια*, when it was believed she had returned, as a beautiful purple dove, considered to be the goddess herself, was observed to fly to the shrine of the goddess. On the coins of Erix are seen a head of Venus, and on the reverse a dove.

Another city in which Venus was especially worshipped was Aphrodisias. This city was under the jurisdiction of the Cnidians,\* and we find on its coins a female figure with a dove.

From the foregoing, we may conclude that the female statue with the dove at her feet, represent Cnidus and her dependant towns.

On the coins of Cnidus we sometimes see a turreted head of the city, which has been mistaken for Cybele,† and on the reverse a lion, an emblem of the people, which may be represented, therefore, by one of the lions on the monument.

The remaining statues are not sufficiently perfect to allow of their emblems being sufficiently distinguished.

An objection will naturally be raised, that the ancients generally represented provinces and cities in sculpture as either standing, or sitting in a quiet posture. But it would appear that this was by no means an invariable rule with them; and it will be seen that both Greeks and Romans altered the representation of provinces and cities on their coins in various ways, as time and circumstances required. Some-

\* Vide STEPH. BYZAN. *de Urb.* a Tho. Pinedo, Amst., 1678, p. 144.

† ECKHEL., 3, Nr. 219—6; Nr. 228—3, § 339; Nr. 202 to 213; Supp. 6—480; Nr. 213 to 225. A female head with a turreted crown: on the reverse, a lion's head. Mionnet gives seven other coins with the head of Venus, and on the reverse the half-figure of a lion, with the inscription, KNI. and KNIΔΙΩ.

times the city or province appeared in a more quiet and reposing attitude, and sometimes it was represented of a more warlike aspect.

On a medal of Hadrian we see Spain reclining in perfect repose, with an olive branch in her hand, the emblem of peace; the other arm resting on a rock. On one of the medals of Galba she is seen in a totally different costume, dressed nearly as an Amazon, extending her right hand, in form of alliance, to another figure, which from the inscription is Gaul: and on another medal of Hadrian she is seen in a more warlike aspect:—



In her right hand she holds ears of corn, as an emblem of the fertility of the soil; and on her left arm she carries a round shield and two javelins; whilst her drapery is flowing and agitated by the wind, as though she were moving in rapid motion, almost in the same manner as the statues of the Xanthian marbles.

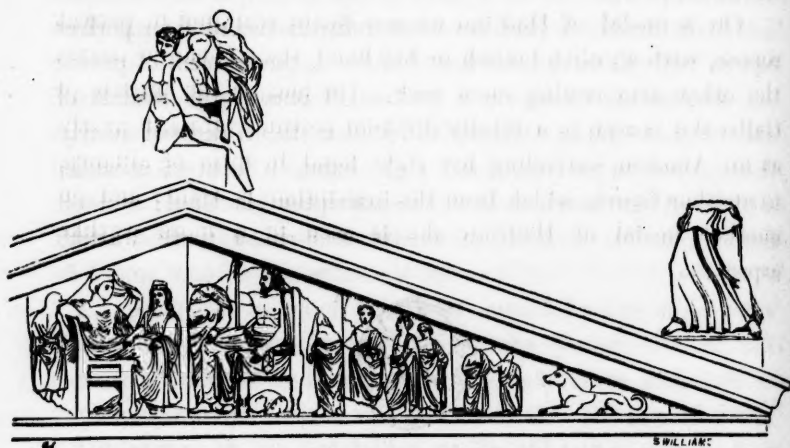
In a coin of Mostene, struck by L. Verus, we see the city, with her turreted crown, represented as an Amazon on horseback:† the motion represented in which may be intended to designate the migration of the Amazons from Thermodon to Phrygia, Æolia, Ionia, Lydia, &c., in which countries several cities were founded by them.

Having thus endeavoured to identify the statues of the peristyle with the several Greek cities which sent their contingent forces to the army of Harpagus, we have now to examine

\* An Aureus of Galba. Brit. Mus.

† Amazons riding on horseback, says Oederici, are seen on other Greek coins; "but Amazons riding with a turreted head I do not remember to have seen, except on the coins of those cities which were founded by Amazons, and a turreted head is always an emblem of the city."—*Numismata Græca*, p. 26.

whether the sculpture in the pediment has any connexion with the subject represented in the lower part of the monument.



In the centre of the eastern pediment we see a male and female figure sitting opposite to each other, with an attendant standing on each side of them. The difference in size between the principal figures and their attendants is a sufficient evidence of their representing divinities. This custom of representing the gods of colossal size was borrowed by the Greeks from Egypt, in order to give a more supernatural and elevated idea of the nature of the gods.

Thus, in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, v. 516, we have the following description of the shield of Achilles. In one compartment of the shield is represented a city at war, with Mars and Minerva leading out the youths to battle:—

“They marched, by Pallas and by Mars made bold,  
Gold were the gods, their radiant garments gold,  
And gold their armour, these the squadrons led  
August, divine, superior by the head.”

The words are more expressive in the original—

Οἱ δ' ἴσαν, ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἀρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,  
Ἄμφω χρυσεῖω, χρύσεια δὲ εἵματα ἴσθην,  
Καλὸν καὶ μεγάλῳ σὸν τεύχεσιν, ὥστε θεῶ περ,  
Ἄμφις ἀριζήλῳ λαοὶ δ' ἐπολιζόμενοι ἦσαν.



It was in this manner that the gods were invariably represented in the time of Homer, and several Greek bas-reliefs might be cited in proof of this assertion. Zoega, indeed, is of opinion that this custom was even more prevalent among the Greeks than among the Romans.\*

The male deity is seated on the right hand, leaning his arm on a sceptre. Opposite to him is the female divinity, with a diadem on her head, and veiled. Before her is a priestess, whose two hands are placed upon the knees of the goddess, in the action of praise and thanksgiving. We have no difficulty in recognising by these traits the attributes of Juno. The former figure must then represent Jupiter. A priest stands in like manner in front of him, and places his hands on the knees of the divinity. The attribution of these figures to Jupiter and Juno will be considered satisfactory, when we reflect that the edifice itself, being of the nature of a military trophy, was held sacred, and consequently dedicated to Jupiter and Juno, both of whom, as we are informed by Lycophron, had the title of *Triumphalis*. Again, the Samians who were anciently called Leleges, were especial worshippers of Juno, who, according to the myths, was born and educated among them.

Jupiter was so universally worshipped by the Carians, that he was especially named the Carian Jupiter. (HEROD., i. 171, v. 66.) The Carians had a celebrated and very ancient temple erected to his honour at Mylassa; and on the coins of Milyas of Pisidia he is seen seated with a spear in his hand, exactly as we see him in the pediment of this monument—he is as usual half-naked, the knees clothed with his pallium.

Beneath his throne is a dog sleeping; another dog is placed in the angle of the pediment, and there was probably a corresponding one in the other angle. Now these dogs alone are

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\* ZOEGA, tom. i. p. 73.

sufficient evidence to show that the edifice was erected by the Carians; for Hesychius, Diogenianus, and Arnobius, inform us that it was the custom of the Carians to offer dogs in sacrifice, and indeed that they were proverbial among the Greeks for so doing. This custom was probably derived from Crete and Asia, for we find that in the island of Crete dogs were dedicated to Jupiter, and a golden image of a dog was placed in his temple.\* The dog was held in great veneration by the Persians, and the image of a dog was carried in battle as a standard by the Egyptians.†

Dogs were not unfrequently employed in war, as by the Colophonians and Magnesians; and thus, as the dog was so much used in this portion of Asia, both for sacrifices and in war, its appearance is easily accounted for in the pediment of this monument.

The placing of the hands on the knees being an act of prayer and thanksgiving, the subject of the pediment of this monument is the priest of the Carian Jupiter and the priestess of Juno returning thanks for the victory and triumph obtained over the Lycians.

Herodotus affirms that the Carians first inhabited the islands, and that they were driven from them by the Dorians and Ionians; and he tells us that he derived this information from Crete.‡ This relation was denied by the Carians, for they declared themselves to have been always inhabitants of the continent; in proof of which they showed at Mylassa their ancient temple of Carian Jupiter, the joint privileges of whose worship they permitted to the Lydians and Mysians alone, as having one common origin with themselves. According to the tradition of the Carians, Lydus, Misus, and Cares, their founders, were three brothers, and thus the use of this temple was granted to their descendants.

\* ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, xxxvi. 56. Edit. 1568.

† DIOD. SIC., lib. 1. ‡ HEROD., i. 171.

To confirm, then, as it were, their early tradition, and to make it a national trophy, they placed the statues of Lydus, Misus, and Cares on the apex of the pediment. As Cares is last named, he may be the youngest, who is represented as held up on the knees of his brother.

The bas-reliefs occupying the place of frieze and architrave, represent hunting and battle scenes. On one part of the frieze we see both Persians and Greeks bringing their offerings. The Persians are recognised by their costume, and their offerings consist of dresses, tapestry, &c., whilst those of the Greeks are of goats and kids. It was customary for the soldier, when he had finished his campaigns, to make an offering, and dedicate his arms to the god of war, and those who spent time in hunting also brought their offerings to the gods. The Greeks were accustomed to offer goats to Juno, on which account she was denominated *Αιγοφαγος*.

A cella being attached to this edifice, gives it the appearance of having been erected also as a sepulchral heroum. Since it was the practice of the Persian kings to confer the government of a conquered province on the general who conquered it, and make him satrap, there can be little doubt but that Harpagus was made governor of this part of Lower Asia; and from him it probably descended to his family. The inscription on the stele at Xanthus speaks of a son of Harpagus,\* and we read of another of this name who defeated Histæus, the tyrant of Milesia, and sent his head to King Darius.†

As the exploits of Harpagus form so conspicuous a feature on this monument, it might have served as the family heroum; and if it may be permitted to conjecture, I should think it probable that it was erected about fifty years after the conquest of Lycia. This opinion appears supported by the circumstance, that the

\* See SHARPE, *On the Inscriptions*, in *Appendix* to Sir C. FELLOWS' *Lycia*, 1840.

† Vide HEROD., vii. 29, 30.

monument was never finished; for in the bas-reliefs of the cella, which represent men on horseback, the outer legs only of the horses are executed, the two other legs being not even indicated; and this leads us to consider that the blocks were placed in their situation before finished by the sculptor.

The date of the conquest of Lycia by the Persians and their allies being about 550 years before the Christian era—then if, as is supposed, this monument were built about fifty years after that event, it would bring us to the year 500 before Christ, something more than half a century before the erection of the Temple of Apollo at Phigalia, and the Parthenon at Athens. This period will agree very well with the character of the sculpture, which evinces an absence of that compact and refined composition to be seen in the Elgin frieze; and again, the inaccuracy of the proportions observable in the shortness of the limbs of the figures, is a further proof of their early period of execution, which is as distinguishable from the correct proportions and elegant and refined taste which characterised the sculpture of the age of Phidias, as are the elongated forms and looser compositions, though spirited conceptions, of Scopas and his contemporaries, a century later, in the Boodroom marbles.

This monumental heroum of Xanthus seems to have stood through all the vicissitudes of Lycian history, until a late period of the Christian era; and to have apparently been thrown from its eminence by an earthquake, for the lead used in binding the marble blocks together was found intact. These regions of Asia appear to have been much subjected to the convulsions of nature. We read of twelve cities of Asia being overthrown in one night by an earthquake, in the reign of Tiberius. Pausanias mentions another earthquake, which happened in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and which overturned the cities of Lycia and Caria, and the islands of Cos and Rhodes; all of which the emperor restored at considerable expense. As Antoninus Pius reigned in the early part of the second century, it

would appear that it was not then destroyed. Though the monument might have been much injured, it must have been restored along with the other buildings, and its final destruction must have been at a much later period, for we find that Sir Charles Fellows carried his excavations through the debris of this fallen monument, and found a Christian village buried beneath the ruins of the structure, which had fallen upon it from the cliffs above; and in the course of excavation he discovered the crosses and remains of paintings which adorned its churches. These paintings could not have been executed till near the fourth century, for the first notice we have of the use of pictures, is a censure on this innovation, by the Council of Elvira, about three hundred years after the propagation of Christianity.\*

Thus, then, the finding of these Christian pictures will carry us to the fourth century, as the era of its total ruin; for from this period up to the middle of the fifth century, a series of the most terrible convulsions of nature seems to have devastated the whole of the eastern parts of the Roman empire. Zosimus gives us a relation of the terrible earthquake which was felt throughout the greater portion of the Roman dominions in

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\* As the seeds of the gospel had been planted in these regions by the zealous and unceasing labours of the great apostle of the Gentiles, and carefully watered and cultivated by his disciples and their followers, so, at the end of the second century, a vast number of professing Christians were found to abound in the country which extended from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea. Being surrounded by the corrupt practices and superstitions of paganism, they were anxious to preserve the doctrines of Christianity as pure as they had received them; and they looked with a cautious and jealous eye on the introduction of pictures within the precincts of their churches, as a too near approach to paganism. Thus, we find that when Diocletian issued his edict for the suppression of Christianity, on the 23rd of February, A.D. 303, at the early dawn of that day the Prætorian prefect proceeded to the cathedral church of Nicomedia, attended by his generals, tribunes, and revenue officers, when, breaking open the doors, and rushing into the sanctuary, and diligently searching in vain for some visible object of public worship, they seized the volumes of the Holy Scriptures, and committed them to the flames.



Asia, in the second year of Valerian and Valens, A.D. 365, when the island of Crete, the Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece, except Athens, were violently shaken; and a little before this, the cities of Palestine, together with Nicomedia, and the other cities of Bithynia, had been overwhelmed by a similar calamity: mountains were overturned, and much damage done to the public monuments and edifices through the countries of Macedonia, Asia, and Pontus.\*

BENJAMIN GIBSON.

ROME, 1847.

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\* AMM. MARCEL., xvii. 13.

## XV.

ON THE MAUSOLEUM, OR SEPULCHRE OF  
MAUSOLUS, AT HALICARNASSUS.

"Si aprono degli scavi nelle vecchie città per rinvenire monumenti da illustrare, e si scartabellano i classici per arricchire di erudizioni le illustrazioni. E perchè non faremo noi una specie di scavo negli stessi libri onde ci venga fatto il descrivere le fabbriche, di cui gli autori ci portano i documenti? Di quante grandiose opere, egizie, greche, romane, ci si accennano le situazioni, le misure, gli ornamenti, e tante altre circostanze che combinate, e messe in ordine a uso di arte, ce le farebbero vedere cogli occhi, e quasi palpare colle mani?"—MARQUEZ.

**A**MONG the various architectural themes which have engaged the thoughts of scientific and learned writers, as the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Diana, the Tomb of Porsenna, Pliny's Villas, or the restoration of Vitruvius' description of a Greek or Roman house, none has attracted such general attention, of late, as the Mausoleum, or Sepulchre of Mausolus—an interest which is greatly to be attributed to our having lately come in possession of the bas-reliefs which are supposed to have formed a portion of this celebrated structure. The following Essay was written at the close of 1847, shortly after the restoration of the monument by Professor Cockerell was published in Mr. Newton's *Memoir*;\* but owing to various circumstances it has been set aside till the present time. Since that period two other theories have been propounded, the authors of which, like myself and all who have preceded us, feel confident in the accuracy of their own individual conception; and I am induced to give diagrams of these two designs, in order to show in how many different manners the same words may be interpreted.

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\* *On the Sculptures of Halicarnassus*, by CHARLES NEWTON, Esq., M.A., in the *Classical Museum*, v. 170, April, 1847; to which the reader is referred for much interesting matter connected with this subject.

I must first put my readers in possession of the particulars on which these theories are founded. In the twenty-sixth book of Pliny's *Natural History*, we read:—

“Scopas habuit æmulos eadem ætate Bryaxin et Timotheum,  
 “et Leocharem, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter  
 “cælavere *Mausoleum*. *Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia*  
 “*factum* Mausolo Cariæ regulo, qui obiit Olympiadis centesimæ  
 “sextæ anno secundo. Opus id ut esset inter septem miracula,  
 “ii maxime artifices fecere. Patet ab austro et septentrione  
 “sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a frontibus, toto circuitu pedes  
 “quadringentos undecim; attollitur in altitudinem viginti  
 “quinque cubitis; cingitur columnis triginta sex. Pteron vo-  
 “cavere. Ab oriente cælavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxis, a  
 “meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares; priusque quam pera-  
 “gerent regina obiit. Non tamen recesserunt, nisi absoluto jam,  
 “id gloriæ ipsorum artisque monumentum judicantes; hodieque  
 “certant manus. Accessit et quintus artifex. Namque supra  
 “pteron pyramis altitudine inferiorem æquavit viginti-quatuor  
 “gradibus in metæ cacumen se contrahens. In summo est  
 “quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis. Hæc adjecta centum  
 “quadraginta pedum totum opus æquavit.”

One of the two writers I have referred to is M. Texier, the eminent architect sent out by the French government to conduct the architectural exploration of Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. He is now appointed *Conservateur des Monumens* in Algeria; and, having seen the ruins of an extraordinary monument near Constantina, he became impressed with the conviction that it presents to us the true type of the celebrated mausoleum. The following report of a lecture delivered by M. Texier, before the *Société Libre des Beaux-Arts*, in Paris, is copied from *La Tribune des Artistes*:\*—

“Therè is in the neighbourhood of Algiers a tumulus called

\* *Journal publié sous les auspices, et avec la collaboration de la Société, par JAQUEMENT.*

the Tomb of the (female) Christian, (Koub er Rommah,) because a cross appeared to be recognisable in a panel by the side of the door. The monument, in all probability, served at one time to receive the mortal remains of the kings of Mauritania. At Medraun, to the south of Constantina, the tomb of Syphax is likewise in the form of a tumulus. Under the Romans, the tumulus-construction acquired a greater regularity, as in the tombs of Augustus and Hadrian, which are circular in plan, and covered with a conical roof. The form of these monuments might enable us to reconstruct, after the description by Pliny, the tomb raised in the city of Halicarnassus to Mausolus by his queen, Artemisia. But, in truth, the text which relates it has been *evidently altered*, and the difficulty, therefore, consists in correcting (cancelling) what has been added, at the same time that we observe scrupulously the particulars given to us by Pliny himself.\*

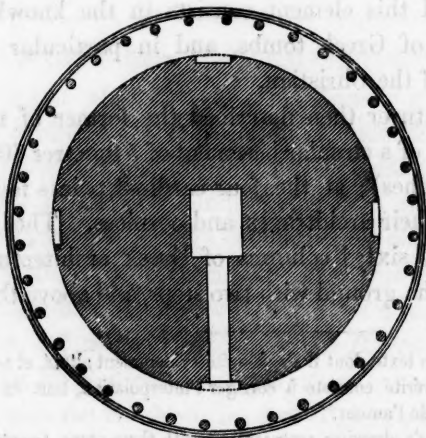
"The lecturer remarked that the restorations of this monument, as M. Quatremère de Quincy had observed, were more and more approaching to reality, as Greek art had become more understood. It is, therefore, as in possession of a fresh element that M. Charles Texier now comes forward to investigate this question; and this element consists in the knowledge of the general form of Greek tombs, and in particular of those of Syphax and of the Christian.

"The Lecturer then described the former of these tombs, which consists of a circular basement of 54 metres 70 centimetres (179 feet 6 inches); at the four cardinal points four doors are feigned, with their architraves and cornices. The basement is surrounded by sixty† columns of Greek architecture (Doric). It rises from the ground with two steps, and above the colonnade

\* "En effet, le texte dont il s'agit a été évidemment altéré, et toute la difficulté pour arriver à la vérité consiste à corriger l'interpolation, tout en respectant les termes principaux de l'auteur."

† Count Caylus's drawing represents it with three steps, twenty-four columns, a pyramid of fifty steps, and domed within.—*Mem. de Littérature de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, tome xxvi. Confronted with this account, the "twenty-four steps" and the "curved meta-like roof" appear to want authenticity.

is a pyramid (cone) composed of twenty-four steps, and which is curved towards the top in the form of a Roman meta. On the summit is a platform which appears to have been decorated with a quadriga or a statue. The total height is 18 metres (59 feet). This description, translated into Latin, would exactly correspond with the text of Pliny, and would be nearly identical with it in respect to the dimensions, except that, from the use of the word *pteron*, the tomb of Mausolus must have been peripteral, whereas this is pseudo-peripteral. Now, how have commentators explained the difficulty which exists between the detail measurements given by Pliny and the total dimension (circumference) of the monument? Why, by supposing an area which never existed, and of which Pliny does not say one word, and by giving to the tomb itself a *mesquin* proportion, in opposition to all authority, which represents it as one of the most gigantic constructions of antiquity. Influenced by these considerations, M. Texier has felt obliged to dissent from the opinion of previous commentators, and, impressed with the appearance of the tombs of the Christian and of Syphax, he has given to the monument of Mausolus a circular, in lieu of a quadrilateral form."





By the foregoing notice, it will appear that M. Texier proposes a tumulus, girt about with a wall, and adorned with thirty-six columns, the total circumference of which shall be 411 feet. The height of the pyramid, or cone, would naturally be equal to the whole lower part of the monument, and so far he may be said to agree with Pliny. But as he does not refer to the total height of 140 feet, to the length of the longer side being 63 feet, or to the fact of the fronts being shorter than the sides, it would appear that he regards all these particulars as "interpolations." Of course he does not even notice Martial's epigram, and it would indeed require more than even the lively imagination of a Frenchman, to believe that a tumulus could ever appear as though "suspended in the heavens."

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This objection cannot be laid against Mr. Fergusson's design,\* for he makes his intercolumniations 17 feet in width. Impressed, in his travels in India, with the beauties of the architecture of that country, he begins by stating:—

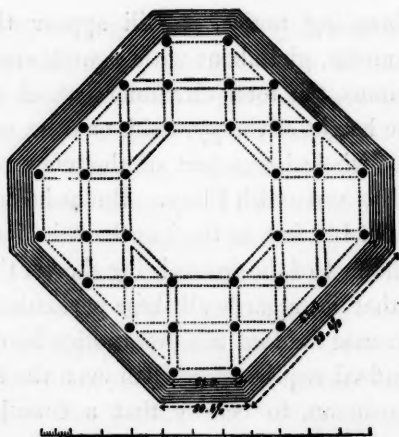
"Out of some hundreds of designs for this building, no two resemble one another in hardly any particular, and no one either agrees with or reconciles the exigencies of the text. The knowledge, however, of the Indian connexion, coupled with the details of the monument at Mylassa, may help us to a solution of the riddle."

He then proceeds to knock away all former theories, previous to laying the foundation for his own structure.

"Besides, that a building of 63 feet wide in its greatest dimensions, and 140 feet high, is so awkward and ugly, and so unlike anything the ancients ever did, that I should have no hesitation in rejecting it on that account alone, if the context did not afford another and a more feasible mode of accounting for it."

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\* See *Historical Inquiry into the true Principles of Beauty in Art.* 8vo, Lond., 1849.



This done, he takes for his model the principle of construction adopted in the domes of Eastern architecture. Having placed eight columns in an octagon, he prolongs four sides of the octagon at pleasure, and marking off the width of an intercolumniation, he obtains any number of intersecting points for the centres of other columns. Thus, by adding two intercolumniations every way, he forms an outer octagon, the sides of which are in the ratio of 63 : 21. These sides are extended by steps till they make 72 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and 30 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches—the total circumference thus amounting to 411 feet.

One objection to this design is the great width of the intercolumniations; but Mr. Fergusson observes—"This is certainly greater than any other building I am acquainted with; but *unless there were something extraordinary about it*, why was it one of the wonders of the world?"

Other objections might be urged, but Mr. Fergusson continues:

"It could be built; and I would undertake to execute it to-morrow, as I have restored it; and if carried out with purity and beauty in its details, I believe it would be a more beautiful mausoleum than has been erected in modern times, or *left us from antiquity*: while there is not one of the restorations hitherto produced which would not be only inartistic in itself, but most unlike any tomb or mausoleum in any part of the world."

Notwithstanding this derivation from the Indian dome, and the anachronism of the employment of the Corinthian capital, (though he suggests that the true capital for such a building would be the Indian bracket-cap,) he concludes:—

“I feel convinced that it” (his design) “is one that produces in every respect the text of Pliny, and at the same time satisfies the ethnographical as well as the artistic exigencies of the question, neither of which requisites are found in any of the preceding ones that I am acquainted with; and the only criticism I shall accept will be the production of a better.”

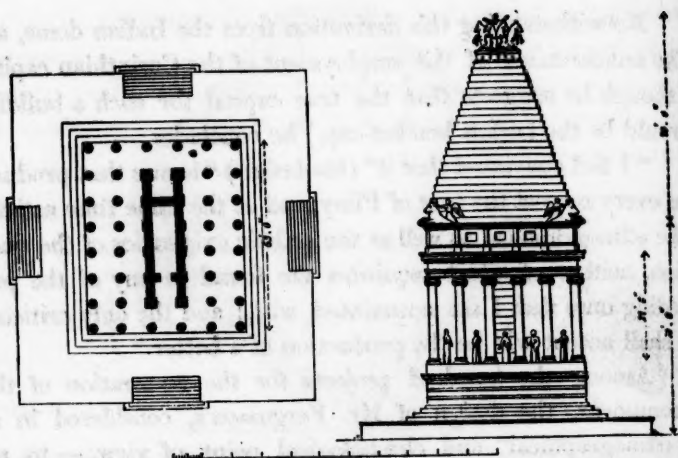
Among the hundred projects for the restoration of this monument, the design of Mr. Fergusson's, considered in an “ethnographical” and chronological point of view, — to say nothing of its constructive or artistic merits,—is certainly not one of the least remarkable!

The two writers just quoted have been biassed by their travelled recollections. The one seeks his model in India—the other among the monuments of Algeria. I propose to found my restoration on the proportions of Greek architecture. So far am I from wishing to put forward some totally new idea, I begin by accepting the general features of a plan which has been already suggested.

With due deference to the opinion of the last writer, I consider that Professor Cockerell has been the first to render the plan of this monument intelligible, and to afford us the key for the restoration of the structure.

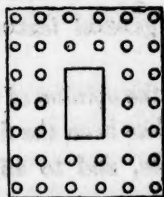
When a discovery is made, it seems extraordinary that no one had thought of it before: so, when Mr. Cockerell restored the mausoleum with a dipteral arrangement at the sides, it seemed wonderful that the various writers who had preceded him should have conceived such preposterous ideas as those embodied in their designs.

“The invention all admired, and each, how he  
To be the inventor missed; so easy it seem'd.  
Once found, which yet, unfound, most would have thought  
Impossible.”



Professor Cockerell, therefore, was the first who gave us any insight into the structure of this building; and to his discovery all future illustrators must stand indebted.

His plan has been since slightly modified by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, by completing the dipteral arrangement, and this amended plan I have unhesitatingly adopted as the basis of my design:—



On Mr. Lloyd's communicating to me his idea, that if the columns were disposed in a dipteral arrangement all round the tomb, it would be still more in character with Martial's description—

*"Aere nec vacuo pendente Mausolea  
Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant—,"\**

and yet preserve the same number of columns, I felt convinced of the probability of the arrangement, as well as of its beauty;

\* MART. *de Spect.*, i. 5, 6.

and this probability\* it will be my endeavour more clearly to show in the following pages by calculation, at the same time that I attempt to determine two other features of the design, by the discovery of a passage in an ancient author which has hitherto escaped attention.

THE type from which the mausoleum is derived is the tumulus of the heroic ages: the body was placed in the ground, and covered with a pile of earth or loose stones. Such are the monuments we so frequently read of in Homer and other ancient writers, and in the Sacred Scriptures; and

\* Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's remarks were published in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, iii. p. 81\*, the editor of which (Prof. Gerhard) thus notices them:—

"We have received a series of epistolary remarks by Mr. Lloyd, on Mr. Cockerell's restoration of the mausoleum. As M. Botticher and M. Strack have already done at the Berlin Archæological Society, so we find Mr. Lloyd strongly objects to the extreme length of the cella of Mr. Cockerell's design. Mr. Lloyd endeavours to remedy this awkwardness of plan by another distribution of the thirty-six columns, namely, by double rows of six columns in each front, and seven in each side. The whole plan thereby becomes more regular, the cella is reduced to the proportion of 3 : 1, and the porticoes appear freer and more passable, as the expression in Pliny, *cingitur columnis*, would seem to require. The difference of only one column between the front and sides agrees very well with the *brevius* of Pliny, and Mr. Cockerell has shown himself disposed to accept this distribution. Mr. Lloyd thus continues:—The analogy of the monuments of Mylasa, of Xanthus, and others of these Asiatic regions, make it probable that the peristyle rested upon a basement of considerable height. That part, therefore, of the total height of 140 feet, which in Mr. Cockerell's restoration is given to the attic, may perhaps be added to the basement, the height of which would thus become a suitable place for the sculptures of Leochares and his fellow artists. It is impossible, however, that the bas-reliefs brought over from Boodroom ever formed part of these celebrated works. Notwithstanding all their beauty, they have too many faults; their best parts are not above mediocrity; besides which, their dimensions and their probable appropriation render it unlikely that they occupied a position so near to the eye as that assumed to have been afforded by the podium. Perhaps the real sculptures of the podium may yet come to light by future excavations.

On the top of the mausoleum there might be formed a platform on which to place the quadriga, corresponding with the proportion of the cella. At the angles might perhaps be lions, as on the tombs named from the chimera and the winged chariot. Artemisia, and the worship of Artemis in that country (PAUS. iv. 31.) may have been the principal causes for decorating the mausoleum with Amazonian subjects. Further illustration of the peculiarities of the mausoleum may be derived from the analogy of numerous Syrian and neighbouring monuments of similar plan, among which Müller (*Achdol. der Kunst*, 151, 1.) has particularly brought forward that of the High Priest Simon (*Olymp.* 160; Jōs. xiii. 6) with seven pyramids."



similar to these are the monuments or barrows we still see remaining in different parts of the world—in the plains of Tartary, and in the steppes of Russia,\* and Bulgaria. But the most extraordinary structure of this description is the tumulus of Alyattes, within a few miles of ancient Sardis, and which Herodotus tells us† was upwards of six stadia in circuit. Adjoining this, among the hills, in a situation invisible from below, are countless tumuli, the forms of which are still quite perfect. The Turks call them *Bin-bir Teppi*, or the “Thousand-and-one Hills.” They form an unique example in this respect; tumuli, I believe, being in every other instance, like the pyramids in the desert,‡ placed in plains, that their form might be more striking to the eye. They will probably some day form a rich mine for the excavator: and, indeed, it is extraordinary that the tomb of Alyattes should have remained so long inviolate, considering the treasures, both of art and precious metal, which it is likely to contain.

The next process was to build an upright wall round the base of the tumulus, to prevent the earth from falling away. This feature we observe in the tomb of Alyattes, just referred to; in those of Tarquinia, of Cære, of Viterbo, of Tantalus on Mount Sipylus; in the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella, and in one at Antioch: and such a wall is described as forming part of the tombs of Ino at Megara,§ of CEnomaus in Elis,|| of Auge in Pergamus,¶ of Amphion at Thebes,\*\* and of Æpytus in Arcadia.†† and it was added to the tumulus of Car, between Megara and

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\* In a journey from Petersburg to Odesa, on the second day after leaving Kieff I passed two such barrows; the next day, twenty-five; on the fourth day, forty—without counting those on the horizon, which in many parts seemed quite notched with them; on the fifth day, twelve; and on the sixth, eight. Their sizes varied from ten to forty feet in height. Those of Bulgaria are nearly as numerous.

† HEROD., i. 93.

‡ The view of St. Paul's from Greenwich, and, still more accurately, that of St. Peter's from the Campania, will give an idea of the appearance of the pyramids as seen from Cairo: all minor objects are merged in the horizon, and these alone seem raised above the soil.

§ PAUS., i. 42.

|| *Id.*, vi. 21.

¶ *Id.*, viii. 4.

\*\* *Id.*, ix. 17.

†† *Id.*, viii. 16.

Corinth, in obedience to the order of an oracle.\* This ornamenting and fortifying with stone was considered as an honorary distinction, as in the sepulchre of the sons of Medea.† Thus arose the type so frequently followed in after-times,‡ and of which the mausoleum is an instance, in which the tomb is in the form of a cube or circle, with a pyramid or cone at the top.

The style of architecture employed in the mausoleum must have been Ionic, for Ionic is the style generally adopted by the ancients for sepulchral purposes; besides which, although the earlier buildings in Asia Minor, as in Europe, were erected in the Doric style, as the temples at Miletus and Samos, the later edifices, including these very temples when re-erected after their conflagration by the Persians, were built in the Ionic style. Mausolus died in the same Olympiad as that in which Alexander the Great was born, and during his lifetime the Ionic temples at Ephesus and Priene were in course of erection, and the latter temple was consecrated by him.§ It is fair, therefore, to presume that the mausoleum at Halicarnassus would not only, like those temples, be in the Ionic style, but that it would likewise assimilate to them in the proportions and detail of that style.|| For this reason I have selected the Asiatic Greek examples as a model, in preference to the European.

Unfortunately, the temples of Asia are all in ruins (except Ephesus, the pride and glory of them all, which has disappeared). The buildings have perished, but in their fall they have raised

\* PAUS., i. 44.

† *Id.*, ii. 3.

‡ Another instance occurs in the mausoleum of Augustus, the form of which was precisely similar. (STRABO, p. 236.)

§ As shown by an inscription still lying among the ruins.

|| The model for one of those columns of the Temple of Diana, which were ornamented with *calatura*, was executed by Scopas, the very same sculptor to whom the decoration of the eastern or principal face of the mausoleum was committed. This is, therefore, another argument for supposing that a similar proportion would be found in these buildings; especially when, as we shall presently see, (p. 170, note,) similar proportions were adhered to at neighbouring places and at similar epochs.

a pile, which is an everlasting monument of their grandeur. In their present confused mass, it is difficult to procure a plan, or to measure the proportions of the order—a detached cap, or a few scattered details, are all that can be obtained: but this very circumstance is interesting to us, when we consider that at some future period, like the ruined cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, they may become the means of disseminating the principles of beauty and of by-gone art. In consequence of this state of ruin, we do not possess satisfactory measurements of any one temple: we can neither determine the plan of the temple, nor set up its order: the difficulties that prevent the effecting of this can only be overcome by the liberality of an enlightened government.

The sculptures from Halicarnassus, now in the British Museum, presented by the Sultan to the British nation, through our ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, are generally believed to have formed the frieze of the mausoleum:\* and it has been ingeniously proposed, *ex pede Herculem*, or, as Lucian says, from the claw-nail of Phidias's lion,† to set up the order from this datum. In so doing, however, we meet with a difficulty at the very outset. With one exception, which is too irregular to serve as a guide, we have no example of the Ionic frieze of an Asiatic Greek temple‡—the exception I refer to is the Propylæa of Priene, the architrave, frieze, (die only,) and cornice of which, including its bed-moulds and cyma, are in the relative proportion of—

·708                      ·437      and      ·956;

but the bed-moulds of the cornice very unusually predominate,

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\* A small fragment of a sculptured frieze has lately been brought from Halicarnassus by Captain Spratt, and has been supposed to have formed part of the mausoleum; but as its height is only eleven inches, and its style later than that of the larger alaba, it is probable that it belonged to some other monument.

† LUCIAN. *Hermot.*

‡ Those shown in the Dilettanti Society's works on Priene and Branchide are merely conjectural.

and thereby detract from the height of the frieze; probably so contrived on account of the latter having no sculpture.

We must calculate the frieze, therefore, from the proportions of European examples.

TABLE OF THE PROPORTIONS OF THE IONIC ORDER.—(HEIGHTS.)

*European Examples.*

	Height of col. in diameters.	Architrave.	Frieze.	Cornice.	Entablature.
Temple on the Ilissus . . .	8.238	.928	.825	.536	2.289
Eastern Portico of the Erechtheum . . . . .	9.354	.901	.854	.583	2.338
Northern ditto . . . . .	9.	.844	.795	.514	2.153
Temple of Victory Apteros . . .	7.684	.894	.848	.845	2.587
West front of Erechtheum . . .	9.004				
Mean . . . . .	8.652	.892	.830	.620	2.342

*Asiatic Examples.*

					Without bed- moulds.
Priene: Temple of Minerva . . .	—	.792	—	—	.798
„ Propylæa . . . . .	9.282	.708	—	—	.783
Teos: Temple of Bacchus . . .	—	.727	—	—	.812
Branchidæ: Temple of . . .	9.416†				
Apollo . . . . .	10.101‡				
Mean . . . . .	—	.742	—	—	.798

An examination of the foregoing proportions will show that the architrave of the Asiatic examples is very much shallower than that of the European, while the cornice, by the introduction of dentils and bed-mouldings, is proportionably increased. Accepting, then, the proportions of .742 for the architrave, and .798 for the cornice, exclusive of its bed-moulds; and calculating the height of the frieze from the

\* In this table, I have omitted the architrave of the Temple at Branchidæ, which is .548, on account of the great disparity between it and the other Asiatic examples.

† TEXIER, *L'Asie Mineure*.

‡ Dilet. Soc.

architrave, in the ratio of 892 to 830, as in the European examples, we obtain ·690 for the frieze of the mausoleum, which, being 2' 5½" in height, makes the diameter of the column equal to 3' 6·391".

The diameter of the column being thus established, we proceed to examine how it will apply to the plan:—

TABLE OF INTERCOLUMNIATIONS, ON FLANKS OF TEMPLES.\*

<i>First Class: Doric.</i>		<i>Diameters.</i>
Selinus: Third Temple† . . . . .		·997
„ Temple of Jupiter . . . . .		·999
Syracuse: Temple of Minerva . . . . .		1·095
Pæstum: Pseudo-dipteral Temple† . . . . .		1·104
„ Temple of Ceres . . . . .		1·106
Segesta . . . . .		1·105
Selinus: Smaller Temple† . . . . .		1·106
Pæstum: Third Temple . . . . .		1·146
Agrirentum: Temple of Concord . . . . .		1·204
„ „ Juno Lucina . . . . .		1·205
Corinth . . . . .		1·235
Mean . . . . .		1·117
<i>Second Class.</i>		
Parthenon . . . . .		1·350
Ægina . . . . .		1·407
Thoricus . . . . .		1·426
Eleusis: Temple of Ceres . . . . .		1·440
Sunium: „ Minerva . . . . .		1·444
Athens: „ Theseus . . . . .		1·573
Rhamnus: „ Nemesis . . . . .		1·661
Metapontum . . . . .		1·705
Mean . . . . .		1·501

\* This table shows that similar proportions were adopted at neighbouring places and at similar epochs. Thus, two temples at Selinus differ only ·002; two temples at Pæstum, the temple at Segesta, and one at Selinus, have the same difference, while that at Syracuse is only ·009 less; two at Agrirentum differ only ·001; the Erechtheum and Temple of Victory Apteros, but ·002; and those of Ægina, Thoricus, Eleusis, and Sunium, approach each other tolerably near. Mr. Cockerell has made a similar observation on the proportionate heights of columns. (*Temple of Jup. Olymp. Agrirentum*, p. 6.)

† So called by Wilkins.

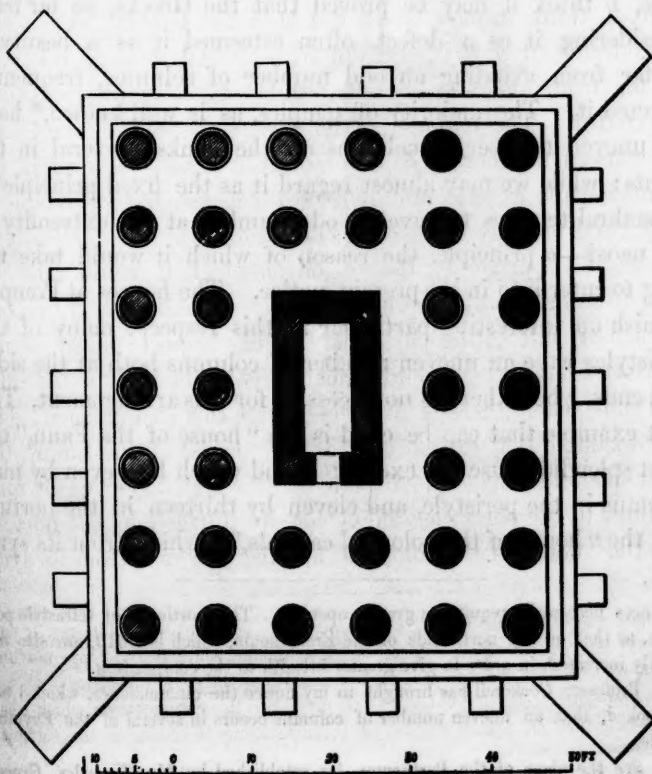


*Ionic.*

Athens: Temple on the Ilissus . . . . .	2.120
" Erechtheum, west front . . . . .	2.162
" " east portico . . . . .	1.994
" Temple of Victory Apteros . . . . .	1.993
Priene: * Temple of Minerva Polias . . . . .	1.739
Teos: Temple of Bacchus (as described by Vitruvius) . . . . .	2.25
Ephesus: Temple of Diana (by calculation) . . . . .	2.25
Branchidæ: Temple of Apollo . . . . .	1.860
Samos: Temple of Juno . . . . .	1.623

Mean . . . . . 1.943

The length of the mausoleum being 63 feet, and deducting 1' 9.195" for the projection of the base and cornice, and allowing seven columns at the sides—



\* The Propylæa at Priene has an intercolumniation of 2.554; but these sacred

we have an intercolumniation of 6' 1.011", or 1.722 diameter, which is nearly the same as that of Priene.

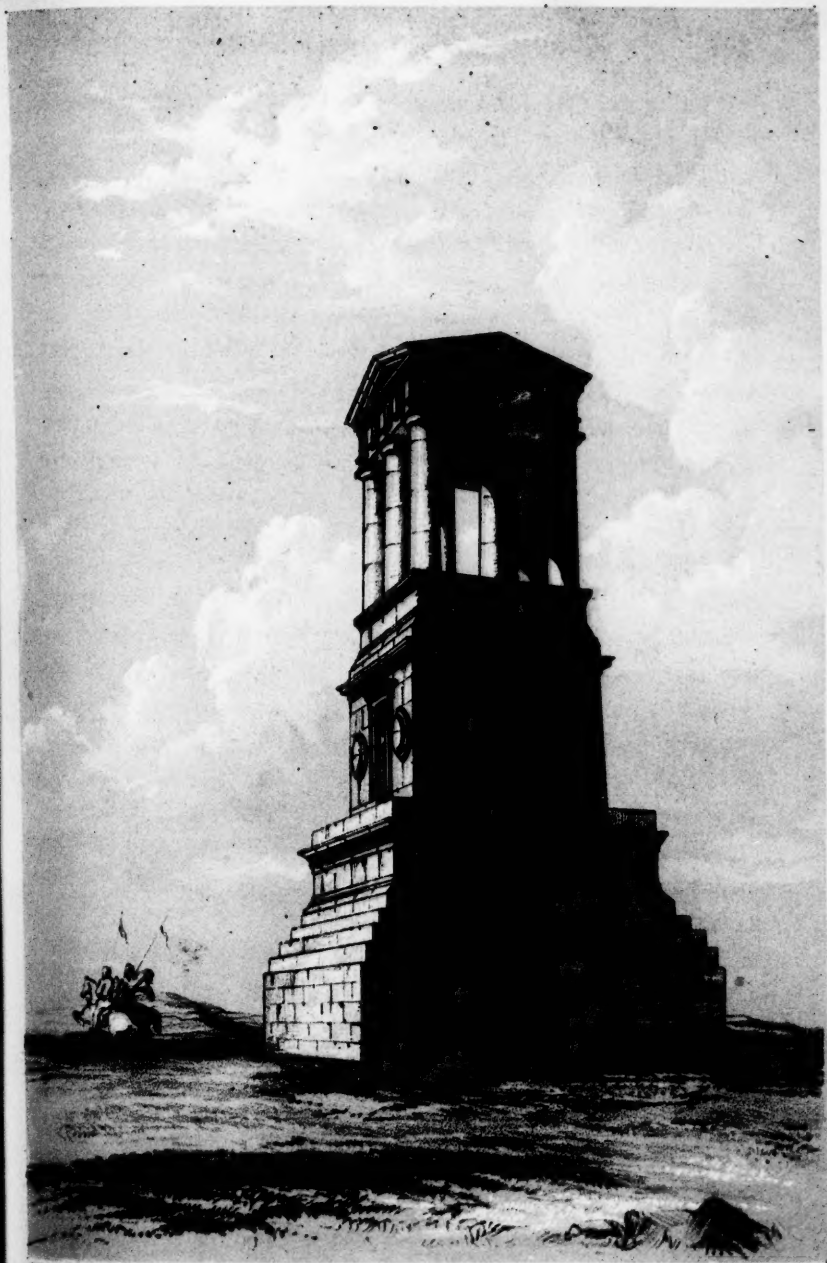
If we suppose one column less at the sides instead of seven, we shall not be able to get in the total number of thirty-six columns; and if we propose one column more, we shall find that the intercolumniations will become reduced to 4' 8.525", or 1.333 diameter, which is less than that of many Doric temples: we are therefore *compelled* to adopt seven columns at the sides of the building. It will be objected that an odd number of columns would be productive of an unsightly effect; but though it is opposed to the mechanical proportions with which we are too often in the habit of shackling architecture, I think it may be proved that the Greeks, so far from considering it as a defect, often esteemed it as a beauty—so far from avoiding an odd number of columns, frequently selected it. The majority of temples, as is well known,\* have an uneven number of columns on the flanks—several in the fronts: while we may almost regard it as the fixed principle in hypæthral temples to have an odd number at the extremity of the naos†—a principle, the reason of which it would take too long to enter into in the present notice. The houses at Pompeii furnish an interesting particular in this respect: many of the peristyles have an uneven number of columns both at the sides and ends, where there is no necessity for this arrangement. The best example that can be cited is the "house of the Faun," the most splendid house yet excavated, and which has seven by nine columns in the peristyle, and eleven by thirteen in the hortus; and the "house of the coloured capitals,"—which, from its sym-

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entrances necessarily required a greater opening. The porticoes of tetrastyle porticoes, as that on the north side of the Erechtheum, which is 3.619, are also frequently increased, in order to give greater breadth to the composition.

\* Professor Cockerell has brought to my notice the circumstance, which I had overlooked, that an uneven number of columns occurs in several of the Egyptian temples.

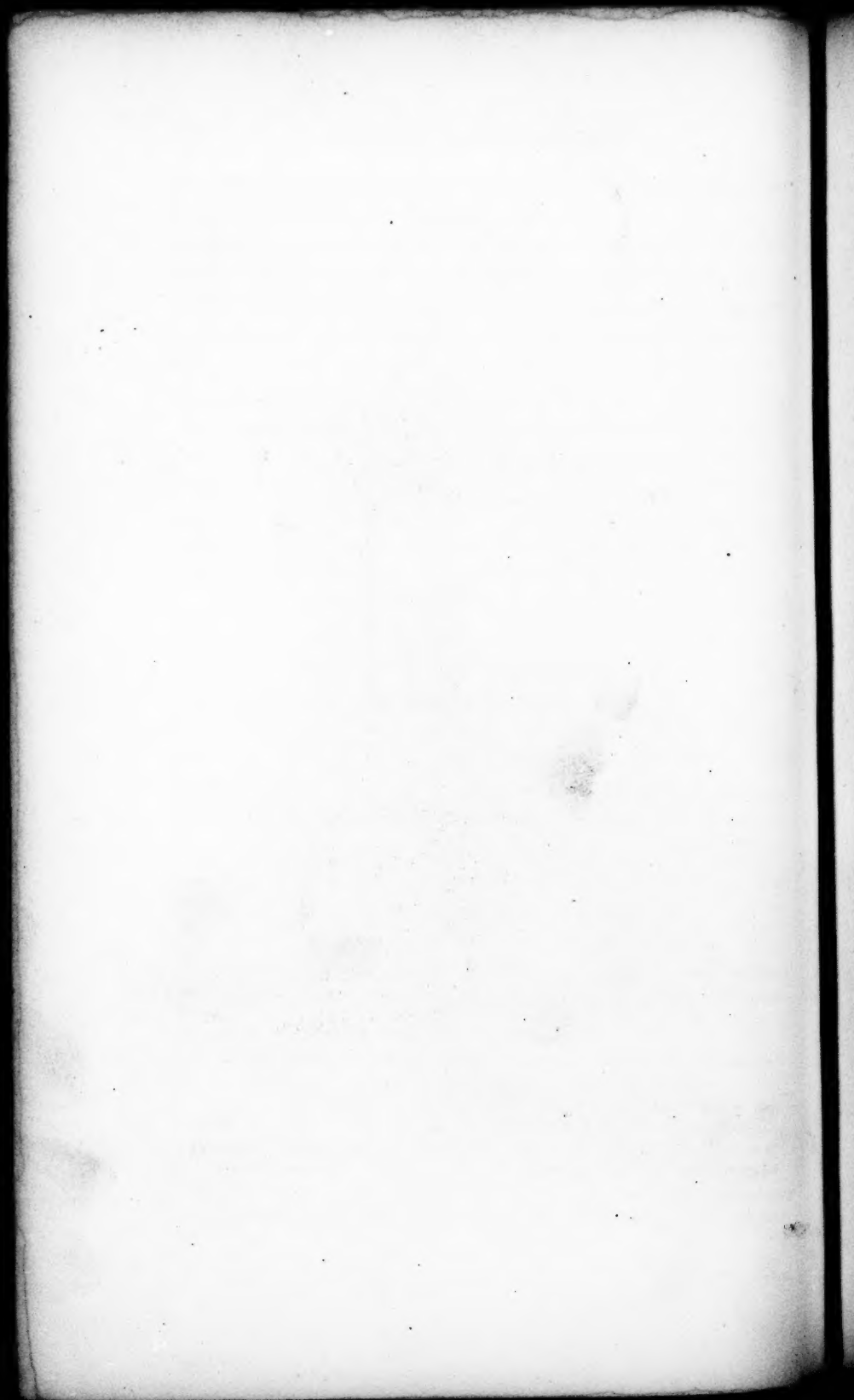
† See the plans of the Parthenon, (as established by Mr. Knowles, *Ground Plan of the Temple of Minerva at Athens*), the Temple of Apollo at Baasa, of



E. F. Att.

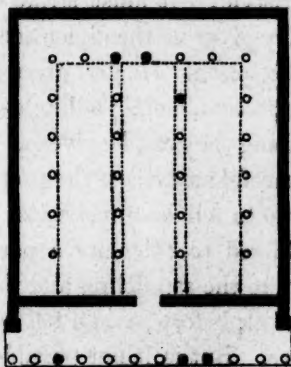
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TOMB NEAR CONSTANTINA, IN ALGERIA.  
CALLED SOMMA "THE TOWER"



metry and regularity, we may regard, in common with the "house of Pansa," as a type of the ancient Roman house,—has five by nine columns in the hortus. But not to speak of temples and houses, but to confine our attention to sepulchral monuments—the tomb of Micipsa at Souma, in Algeria,\* affords us another example of this arrangement; and if I am right in

Apollo at Miletus, of Ceres at Eleusis, and the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum. If the accompanying diagram of the manner in which I have



attempted to restore the plan of the Temple of Ceres be correct, there would be an odd column in every division. The three naves might have a mystical signification to the tripartite worship of the temple.

\* *Souma*, in Arabic, signifies a tower or minaret, a name which clearly shows the nature of the monument, though it is now a heap of ruins. It lays fourteen kilometres (nearly nine miles) south-east of Constantina. The details of the monument are of pure Greek architecture, which is the more remarkable, as all remains in this country are of Roman date; but Strabo informs us that Micipsa greatly enlarged and adorned his capital city, Cirta, afterwards called Constantina, and for that purpose called in a Greek colony. The total height of the monument is supposed to have been 18 metres 56 centimetres, which is equivalent to 60 feet 10½ inches English measure. The accompanying view is projected in perspective from the geometrical restoration by M. Ravoisié (fol. Paris, 1846). From the very great projection of the lower pedestal, it is probable that this portion of the monument was decorated with sculpture at the top, perhaps with lions; and it is remarkable that both the upper and lower pedestals, and the steps beneath, all taper considerably. How much more elegant and natural these sepulchral monuments appear than the heavy, formal, vulgar mausolea which are beginning to adorn our cemeteries! How perfectly the Greeks understood the manner of uniting in these monuments the simple with the grand—elegant beauty with solemn sadness!



my restoration, the monument at Oorán, in Asia Minor,\* gives us yet another evidence of this principle.

We now pass to another feature of the plan. Pliny tells us that the whole circuit (of the monument) was 411 feet. But as the sepulchre measured only sixty-three feet on the larger side, it is evident that Pliny here speaks of the surrounding area. But for what purpose, and of what description was this area? Was it merely a terrace to give base to the design, or may it not rather have been an enclosure, or peribolus, surrounded by a peristyle? It must strike every one that the manner in which Pliny gives us the dimensions of the plan is of the most complex description. He first gives us only the length of one side of the mausoleum, merely telling us that the front was less; and then, describing the area, he gives us its circuit. In the first case, without a careful analysis of the proportions of Grecian temples, we are unable to tell how much less the front was; in the latter, we are obliged to calculate a parallelogram, which shall be in proportion to the sepulchre, and the circuit of which shall be exactly 411 feet, before we can tell what the respective sides of this area were. But is it not possible that we are misunderstanding Pliny? Is it likely that he would have adopted the clumsy method of giving us the circuit of the area, when it would have been so much more intelligible to have given us its relative dimensions? Is it not therefore possible, that as Pliny gave us the *latus longius* of the sepulchre, he gives us here the *latus longius* of the circuitus? and that the passage runs thus: (the larger side) measures on the north and south flanks 63 feet: the fronts are shorter; on the whole circuit (or the *surrounding enclosure*, the longer side) is 411 feet. In conformity with this supposition, I projected a plan, showing a peribolus,

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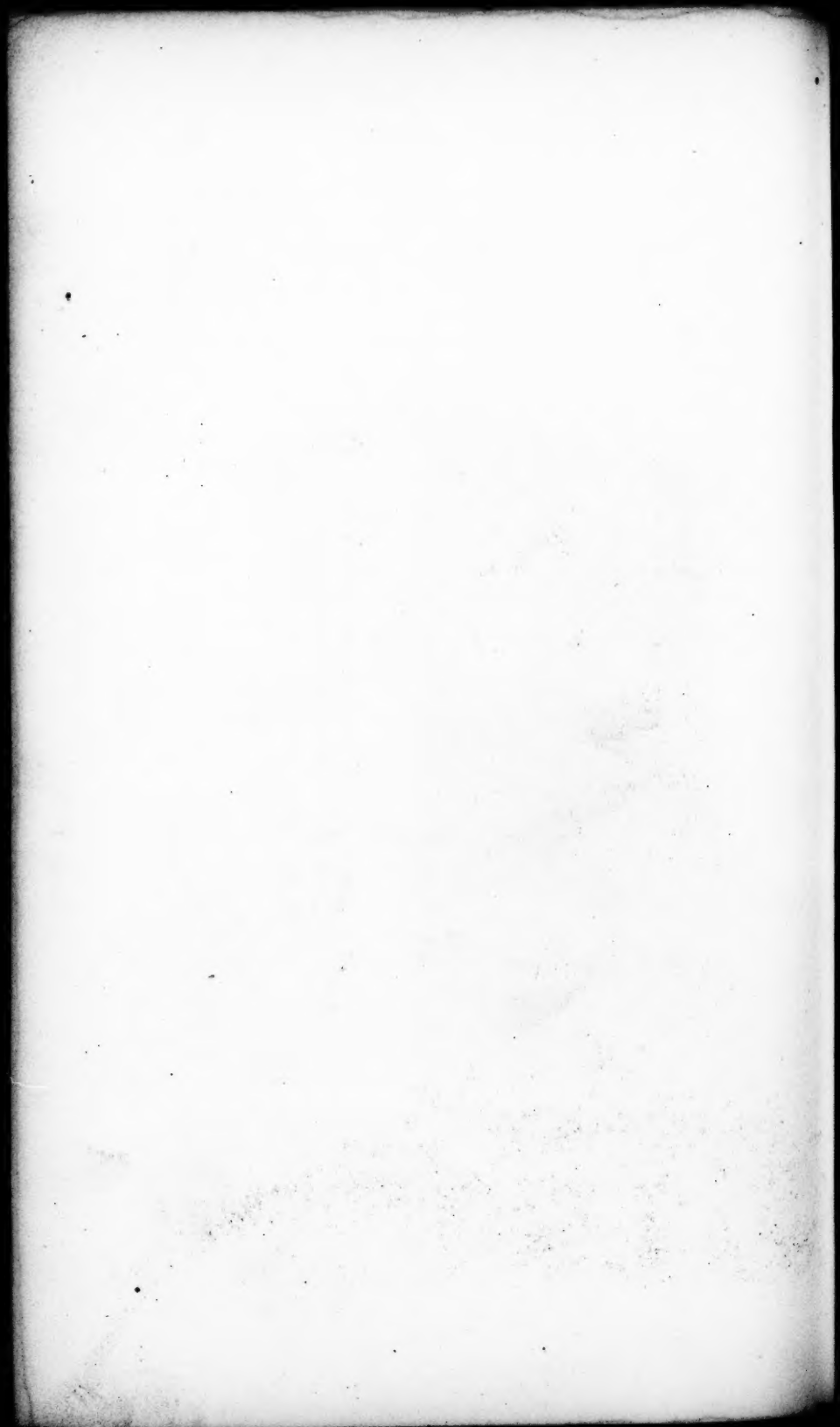
\* This monument I discovered, in 1844, on a hill called Oorán, five hours' journey from Denizli. The only parts remaining above the surface are the six large piers, measuring 4 ft. 6 in. square, and 5 ft. 6 in. high, carved on each face with bas-reliefs. Time did not permit me to sketch the sculptures, but one subject represented a figure in a chariot, and another a female with a drawn sword, standing over a prostrate enemy.

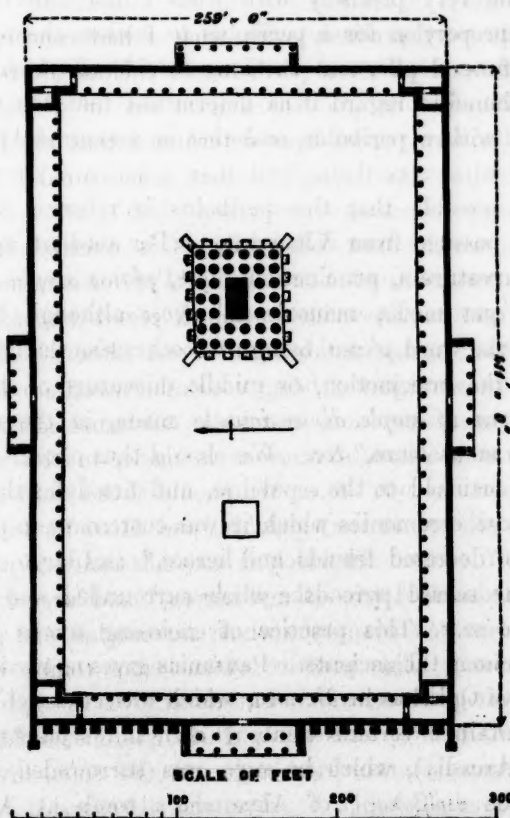


17 vol. Oct. 2, 1844.

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TOMB AT OORAN, NEAR DENIZLI, IN PHRYGIA.  
DISCOVERED BY E. FALKENER





one side of which measured 411 feet in length, and supposing that the sepulchre might have occupied one end, and the pyra the other, I considered that, to be in proportion with the monument and these requirements, the width might possibly have been about 300 feet.

Some time after having completed this plan, I discovered the following passage in Hyginus, which had hitherto escaped the attention of commentators:—"Monimentum regis Mausoli, lapidibus lychnicis altum pedes LXXX, circuitus pedes MCCCXL." (*Fabulae*, CCXXIII.) This dimension of 1340 feet will be found

to coincide very precisely with what I had conceived to be the best proportion for a peribolus to enclose the tomb itself and the funeral pile, and the longest side of which was 411 feet. I therefore regard it as determined that the tomb was furnished with a peribolus, and that it measured 411 feet by 259 feet.

It is possible that this peribolus is referred to in the following passage from Vitruvius,—“Per mediam autem altitudinis curvaturam, præincinctionemque, *platea ampla latitudine facta*, in qua media mausoleum,” &c.: although I am not aware of the word *platea* being used otherwise than as a *street*. “But in the præincinction, or middle curvature of the height, a broad area of ample dimensions is made, in the middle of which the mausoleum,” &c. We should thus obtain an ample area, proportioned to the sepulchre, and fitted for the celebration of those ceremonies which it was customary to pay to the memory of deceased friends and heroes,\* and large enough to receive the sacred pyre—the whole surrounded and protected by the *lorica*.† This practice of enclosing tombs was very common among the ancients. Pausanias gives us two instances; the tomb of Opheltes in Nemæa, which was enclosed by a wall which contained certain tombs;‡ and the sepulchre of the Phoezi (Arcadia), which he says, was surrounded by a low wall.§ The περιβολος || of Alexander's tomb at Alexandria contained not only the body of Alexander, but those of the

\* TIBUL. i. 3, 8, 9; ii. 6, 31—34; iii. 2.

† In a note from Captain Spratt, who was employed in the survey of this coast by the Admiralty, he states:—“On the western side, at ten or twelve feet from the masonry, stand the two posterns of a doorway, or approach by steps, since there was no opening in the masonry behind them. The position of these marble doorposts thus will correspond to your idea of such an approach, as denoted in your restoration of the mausoleum; upon seeing which I was forcibly struck with the conviction of these porticoes being *in situ*, but until now felt some doubt about it. —Feb. 5th, 1848.” He considers that there were two platforms contiguous to each other, with a difference of level of from five to six feet, and that they measured together at least 1100 feet in circumference.

‡ PAUS., ii. 15.

§ *Id.*, viii. 11.

|| STRABO, p 794.



Ptolemies. The *enclosure* of Nero's tomb was of Thasian stone;\* and in Cicero, we find the peribolus of tombs called *vestibulum*, or *forum*.† The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargarda also appears to have been enclosed by a peribolus, in the angles perhaps of which were chambers for the magi, who had the privilege of guarding his body.‡ Many of the tombs of Pompeii still remain enclosed by their protecting wall; but a very convincing proof of the practice of enclosing tombs is exhibited in the coin of Byblus, pointed out to me by Mr. Newton, and which represents a mausoleum in the centre, surrounded by its *pteron*, and terminating in a pyramid, the whole enclosed by a peribolus, the front side of which the artist has been obliged to leave out, in order to place the mausoleum. He does not show the columns of the peribolus, but he represents its roof, the ridge-tiles of which slope inwards on all sides.

As yet, we have determined only the plan of the building; we will now proceed to consider its height.

Pliny begins by saying that it was raised in height twenty-five cubits, or thirty-seven feet six inches: "*attollitur in altitudinem viginti-quinque cubitis*." This dimension has been interpreted as the height of the order, but there is no indisputable authority in the original for this appropriation; and it is far more probable that Pliny here intended us to understand that the principal part of the monument, *i. e.* the portico, or *pteron*, was raised from the ground twenty-five cubits.

After describing the disposition of the columns, he goes on to say that the pyramid equalled the lower part in height, and that, including the quadriga, the total height was 140 feet. Taking 37ft. 6in. as the height of the order, Professor Cockerell divides the total height in two equal parts, one of which he gives to the pyramid, and apportions the other to the order, the height of which, 37ft. 6in., has been already found,

\* SUET. in Nero., 50.

† CIC. de Legibus, ii. 24, 61.

‡ ABBIAN, *Expod. Alex.*, vi.

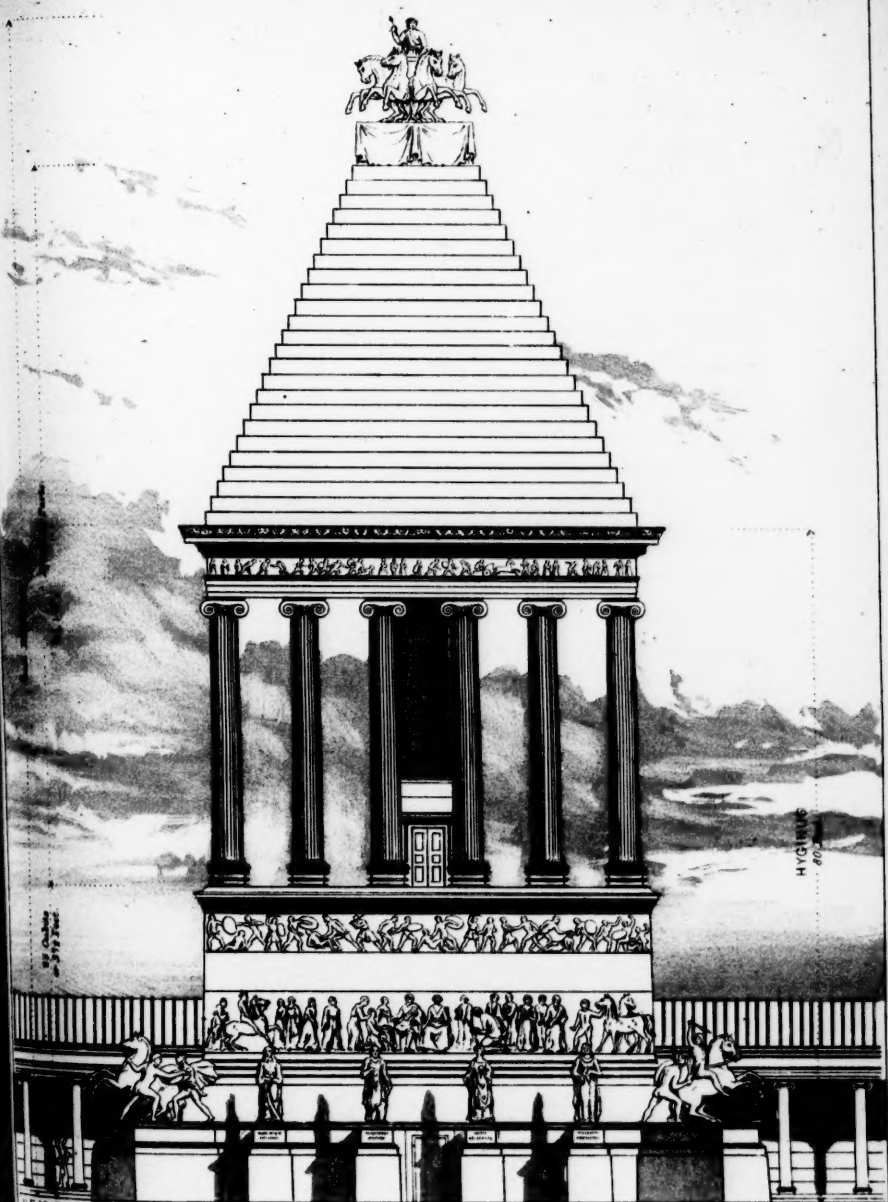
and to an attic and a basement, without any certainty as to the exact amount to give to either.\* This difficulty is avoided if we consider the 25 cubits to have reference to the stylobate. We then merely have to deduct the 37ft. 6in. and the height of the quadriga from the total height, and we have a remainder which, divided in two equal portions, gives us at the same time the height of the order and of the pyramid above.

On discovering the passage in Hyginus, referred to above, I at once appropriated the dimension—1340; but, like commentators in similar difficulties, I fancied the LXXX feet must be a corruption of the text, or, as M. Texier would say, an “interpolation.” This arose from having accepted the height of 25 cubits as that of the order; but on attributing it, instead, to the height of the stylobate, it immediately occurred to me that Hyginus considered the height of the building to extend from the ground to the top of the cornice, and that he regarded the pyramid merely as a roof. On deducting, therefore, 37ft. 6in., I obtained 42ft. 6in. for the height of the order, and the like quantity for that of the pyramid; and thus there remained only 17ft. 6in. for the marble quadriga at the top.

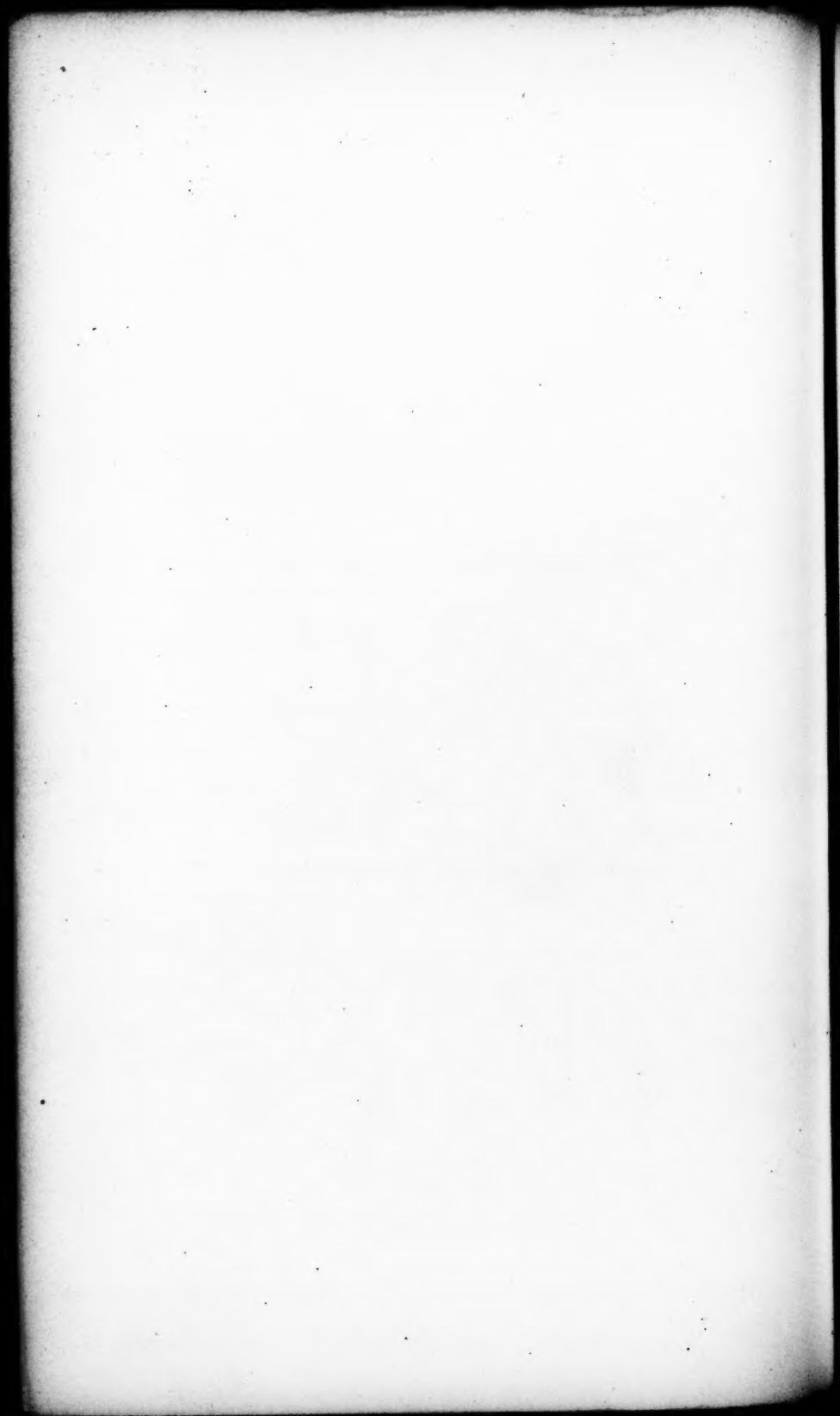
We have seen that the proportionate heights of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, without bed-moulds, are 742, 690, and 798. Above the sculptured frieze, and on the same block, is an astragal and fillet, which measures  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch: as the astragal is enriched, there must have been an ovolo over, which would be about twice and a half that dimension in height, making together  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, or  $\cdot 124$  of a diameter; which, added to  $\cdot 798$ , gives the total height of the cornice as  $\cdot 922$  including its bed-moulds. Thus we get the

Architrave . . . . .	742 = 2' 7.454"
Frieze . . . . .	690 = 2' 5.025"
Cornice . . . . .	922 = 3' 3.084"
Total Entablature . . . . .	2.354      8' 3.783"

\* The accompanying design is drawn to the same scale as that of Professor Cockerell's in the *Classical Museum*, already referred to, in order to afford more easy comparison.



THE MAUSOLEUM,  
OR SEPULCHRE OF MAUSOLUS  
AT  
HALICARNASSUS.



Deducting this amount from the height of the order, 42ft. 6in., we have 34ft. 2.212in. for the height of the column, which is equivalent to 9.677 diameters; which, by reference to the preceding table, will be found to agree very well with the only Asiatic examples that have been determined—the Temple at Priene, and that at Branchidæ.

I have thus endeavoured to show how the various dimensions, which at first sight appear so contradictory, may be reconciled together, both in the plan and elevation; and, secondly, how the proportions thus established correspond most perfectly with the proportions of ancient temples. I must now consider two or three points, respecting which there is less certainty.

The first objection that may be urged against this restoration, will be the excessive height of the basement, and the unsightliness of such a blank wall; and, secondly, that the pyramid becomes too flat, and loses the application of Pliny's description, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*.

To the first objection I would reply by two arguments: I think it can be shown that the lofty and rising basement is more in character with other monuments approaching the same antiquity—witness the tombs of Souma and Phrygia, given in this memoir—the Harpy tomb, and the other square elongated stela at Xanthus—that at Palmyra—the tomb of Scipio at Taragona—the monuments at Rome, as the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and the sepulchre of M. Plautius near the Ponte Lucano—the tomb on Mount Lebanon, and others which are so generally divided into two nearly equal heights—and the general character of the tombs of Caria and Lycia; and, secondly, I would refer to the accompanying engraving in proof that a lofty basement does not necessarily imply a bare plain wall, without the opportunity of embellishment. On the contrary, I conceive that *the basement was the most richly decorated part* of the structure, and that it was to the sculptures of this part of the monument that the praises of Pliny, Pausanias, and Lucian are directed. The sculptures of Grecian temples, though proportioned to the



friezes, were capable of being seen, because the eye of the spectator was nearly on a level with the base of the columns; but if the sculptures of the mausoleum were confined in like manner to the frieze, they would be scarcely visible, being raised up to twice the height of those in temples.\* They would consequently become mere decorations, and could never have elicited the high commendations of Lucian. Being confined to a narrow frieze, the architectural symmetry of which it was necessary to study, it would have been preposterous to divide the four sides among such celebrated sculptors as Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares; to confine the *capi d'opera* of such artists to a situation where they could never have been seen; to employ them as mere decorative sculptures; to divide off 228 feet of a narrow frieze, the detail of which would be invisible, between four such artists, when 386 feet of metopes and 528 of large frieze, making a total of 914 feet run of sculpture, independent of the pediments, were executed in the Parthenon, from the designs and under the superintendence of Phidias alone. The diversity of styles again, and manner of treatment, adopted by these several sculptors, would be in want of harmony as an architectural composition. We are, therefore, obliged to conclude that these sculptures were displayed in the stylobate, where they would be so much better seen. I have accordingly indicated two lines of bas-relief running round the monument, the figures in the lower one of which would be of the size of life, and have skirted its base with statues in the solid.

These two lines of sculpture I have adopted from the monument at Xanthus, for the discovery and acquisition of which we are so much indebted to Sir Charles Fellows. Another example of this disposition of sculpture occurs in the monument in Lycia, recently discovered by Professor

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\* The frieze of the Parthenon is 3 feet 4 inches, and the metopes 3 feet 11½ inches in height, and raised 44 feet above the level of the surrounding area: while that of the mausoleum is only 2 feet 5½ inches, and raised nearly 80 feet.

Schönborn, and described in No. I. of the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*; and in addition to the authority which these monuments afford for introducing sculpture in the stylobate, the Temple of Victory *apteros* affords us a beautiful example of the same practice. The ordinary Greek stelæ generally contain a bas-relief representing a valedictory scene, and the later Roman monuments usually have a sculptured frieze, as in the monument of Philopappus, representing a triumph or an important incident in the life of the deceased,\* or the banquet of Elysium, which he was supposed to be enjoying.

In the funereal car of Alexander, described by Diodorus (c. 28), there were four *parallel* paintings (which in Quatremère de Quincy's design are shown continuous, not parallel). These paintings were filled in with figures, and were equal to the walls. In the first (or upper line), Alexander was seated on his throne, surrounded by his Macedonian and Persian guards; in the second was a train of elephants, with their Indian attendants and Macedonian infantry; in the third, his cavalry; and in the fourth, his vessels of war in order of battle.

Though there is sufficient authority, therefore, for the application of bas-relief to the stylobate, the introduction of statues may appear more questionable. But in the first place, we invariably find statues in those medals which represent the rogi or funereal piles, and which appear to be copies of sepulchral monuments; we see them introduced in the intercolumniations of the monument at Xanthus, already alluded to;† and they are applied in a similar position in the restorations of previous illustrators: if, therefore, they are admissible in one position, they are in another; and as I show none between the columns,—the intercolumniations of which will not allow of them,—I think myself justified in applying them to the

\* Thus the tomb of Pyrrhus, at Argos, was ornamented with a representation of his armour and his elephants. (PAUS. ii. 21.)

† A tomb at Antioch was covered with such statues.

decoration of the stylobate. But, independent of this reasoning from analogy, I think the descriptions of Cassiodorus, Pausanias, Lucian, and even Vitruvius, will confirm the appropriation of them. Cassiodorus does not speak of its magnitude or grandeur, but merely of its *beauty*: he calls it *pulcherrimum monumentum*.<sup>\*</sup> Neither does Vitruvius describe its magnitude, nor make use of any corresponding expression, but speaks of its *wonderful works*, in the plural: "Mausoleum ita egregiis operibus est factum." Pausanias says, "it was erected by Mausolus, who reigned in Halicarnassus; and through the magnitude of the work, and the *splendour of its ornaments*, (καὶ ἐς κατασκευὴν περιβλεπτος τὴν πᾶσαν,) the Romans were so struck with wonder, that they call all their sepulchres *mausolea*."<sup>†</sup> The words of Lucian are still more remarkable: "No monument in the world is equal to it in magnitude or beauty: nor embellished like it in such an elegant manner, with men and horses copied to the life." (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον, ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων).<sup>‡</sup>

This latter statement I have taken advantage of, as it seems to show that men and horses were carved in the solid, and I have accordingly placed statues of men under each of the columns,§ and horses at the angles.

Another consequence of the increased height given to the basement, is a more perfect accordance with Martial's description of the Mausoleum, as being *suspended in the void air*: for

\* CASSIOD. *Var.* vii. 15.

† PAUS. viii. 16.

‡ LUCIAN, *Dial. Mort.* xxiv.

§ This position of them is corroborated by the Temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, each of which had statues in front of the columns. Statues may also be seen in a similar position on medals of Antoninus Pius, and on the temple in the back ground of the picture, representing King Latinus receiving the Trojan ambassadors, and in other instances. Among other restrictions introduced by Solon, to prevent the expense incurred by such immense sepulchres as had been erected in the Ceramicus, he expressly forbids the introduction of statues, or *Hermes*; which proves that, before this law, they were commonly employed in the ornament of their tombs. (Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 26, 65.)

being placed at so great a height, the solid\* pier in the centre of the *pteron* would be scarcely visible, being concealed by the lines of perspective—thus furthering the analogy between the monument and this description of Martial's, obtained by placing a double line of columns all round the central pier.

To the second objection, that my pyramid becomes too depressed, and in want of conformity with Pliny's description, I would submit whether it be not in stricter analogy with it in this respect than previous designs; that is to say, whether Pliny's expression, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*, does not rather give us to understand that the entire monument resembled a meta, and that, like it, it was drawn inwards towards the top? for metæ are never in the form of pyramida, but are always represented as elongated parabolic cones, nearly straight at the bottom, and contracting in a sharp curve towards the top.†

Another argument in favour of the proportion which I have assigned to the pyramid, is that it more nearly assimilates to the *angle of repose*; for if we suppose that the pyramid of the mausoleum is copied from the tumulus of the heroic times—as it undoubtedly is—the form of the pyramid would be made to assimilate to that of the tumulus, or, in other words, to the angle of repose: and this is the angle we find observed in other monuments, as in the tomb at Mylassa,‡ and the tomb at Constantina, in Africa.§

The above are the observations I have thought it necessary to give in elucidation of my design; there are, however, some features of the mausoleum which require further notice: the first of these is the quadriga. It was the custom of the ancients

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\* I speak merely with regard to its *appearance*, without reference to whether it were really solid. It might have contained the bust of Mausolus; the body was probably deposited in the ground in the first instance, and the monument raised over it, like the tumulus over the grave. (See 1 Macc. xiii. 27.)

† The tomb in the Via Appia near Albano is of this form.

‡ DILET. SOC., *Ion. Antiq.* It is incorrectly given in the *Classical Museum*.

§ *Mém. de Littérature*, xxvi. p. 334, pl. 4.

to raise columns over the tombs of their friends, whereon were inscribed the names and achievements of the deceased; and where the monument was of a more important character, statues or other emblems relating to the deceased were added. We have several instances in Pausanias of this practice. Over the sepulchre of Lais, in Corinth, was a lioness holding a ram in her fore-feet, (ii. 1). The sepulchre of Corcebus, in the forum of Megara was surmounted by the figure of Corcebus slaying the monster Pœna, (i. 43). A golden ram stood on the sepulchre of Thyestes, near Argos (ii. 18), because, says Lucian (*De Astrologia*), he discovered that sign of the zodiac. A rough stone was placed over the tumulus of Phocus, in Ægina, because he was killed with it by Peleus, who used this stone instead of a quoit (ii. 29). On the tomb of Pittheus, at Troezen, were placed three thrones, being those in which he and his colleagues\* are reported to have sat in judgment (ii. 31). Over the tumulus of Auge, in Pergamus, who was celebrated for her beauty, was placed a naked woman of brass (viii. 4). Over the sepulchre of Androclus, the founder of Ephesus, was the figure of a man in armour (viii. 2). On the sepulchre of the Thebans who fell in battle against Philip, at Chæronea, was placed a lion, to signify the valour of those men in battle, (ix. 40.) And, finally, the stones which formed the foundation of the tumulus of Amphion, at Thebes, were said to be the very stones which followed the harmony of his lyre (ix. 17).† Thus, the quadriga of the sepulchre of Mausolus would be placed there as an emblem of the grandeur and glory of the King of Caria, his opulence and his military renown.

I have introduced a curved moulding in my design between

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\* The governors of the cities of Hyperea, Anthea, and Posidonias, which were afterwards united into Troezen. (PAUS. ii. 30.)

† On the tomb of Archimedes was a globe and cylinder (CIC. in *Tuscul.*); on that of Diogenes the cynic was a dog, (LAERTIUS in *Vita*); and a siren stood on that of Isocrates (PLUT. *Rhet.* 10).



the stylobate and the pteron, partly to prevent the projection of the cornice below from hiding a portion of the columns, and partly in reference to the character of the building. The portico of the monument being inaccessible from without, it would be an impropriety to represent steps, as in a sacred building; but a curved moulding in lieu of steps would serve to denote that the portico was not intended for use, but merely as a decoration. The choragic monument of Lysicrates is another instance of a building, ornamented with a colonnade, raised considerably above the ground—having the same feature of a moulded plinth between the portico and the stylobate. The expedient adopted in the Xanthian monument is exceedingly interesting in this particular. The cornice, although composed of several mouldings, is of very low projection, in order not to hide the bases of the columns; while, still further to remedy this evil, the bases of the columns have an extraordinary elongation. They are equal to a whole diameter in height, whereas the other Asiatic examples are only half a diameter. This was, doubtless, contrived to remedy the necessary concealment of a portion of the base by the projecting lines of the cornice. The *Ionic* base being so characteristic of this country, I have introduced it in my design, giving it an altitude of three quarters of a diameter.

There is a strong presumption that the mausoleum was decorated with statues, but whom these statues represented, it is, of course, impossible to assert; in the absence, however, of a more probable idea, I would suggest the following:—Mausolus might occupy the central pedestal on one side, with his father and mother and two brothers, making a group of five. Artemis might occupy a corresponding position on the other flank, with Artemisia and captive Rhodes on one side, and Ada the sister of Artemisia, and Artemisia the daughter of Lygdamis, on the other; while the eight remaining pedestals, four in either front, would support statues of the eight cities which were united

together by Mausolus into Halicarnassus.\* Parallel instances are exhibited in the trophy of Artemisia's conquest of Rhodes, which represented Artemisia and captive Rhodes,† and in the monument to the memory of Homer, built by Ptolemy Philopater, who placed round the statue of the poet representations of the different cities which had claimed the honour of giving him birth.‡



Since writing the above, I find there is the trunk of a female draped statue in the British Museum, the height of which, curiously enough, exactly corresponds with those in my design. It was brought from Halicarnassus with the bas-reliefs, and is

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\* STRABO, p. 611. In the same manner, the cities Hyperea, Anthes, and Posidonias, which were afterwards united into Troezen, were represented on the tomb of Pittheus, as already noted, (page 184, note.) Figures of cities are also represented on the pedestal of the statue of Tiberius, found at Puteoli.

† VITR., *Arch.*, ii. 8.

‡ ÆLIAN., *Var. Hist.*, xiii. 22.

considered in the *Bullettino dell'Inst. Archeol. di Roma*, (1832, page 168,) as having formed part of the decoration of the mausoleum. Though some doubts may possibly be entertained whether it be of so early a date, it is nevertheless a beautifully executed statue; and the delicacy with which the deep folds of the stola or tunic are rendered just perceptible under the flat surface of the pallium, is very remarkable. The fringed border, considered to be a mark of later age, may possibly be an indication of Barbarian extraction.

The monument being nearly square, having six columns on one side, and seven on the other, the door being of minor consequence, if perceptible, and the only indication of the front, independent of having one column less, being the position of the quadriga at the top of the building, it appears doubtful how Pliny could speak of the monument having a front, or how the spectators could readily distinguish it; and I therefore submit the possibility of the hexastyle porticoes at front and back having been surmounted by a pediment, as in the Xanthian monument, and as we so universally find in the rock tombs of Lycia. I have not, however, followed this suggestion, for I cannot deny that a pyramid resting on a pediment would be contrary to the principles of Greek art.

I close these remarks by referring to two monuments in Syria. In speaking of sepulchres worthy of admiration Pausanias signalises two only; the mausoleum of Mausolus, "and one in the country of the Hebrews, at the city of Solymæ, (Jerusalem.) It was the sepulchre of Helena, a native woman, but was razed to its foundations by the Emperor of the Romans" (Titus).<sup>\*</sup> Unfortunately, we have no description of this monument, but we find the following references to it in Josephus and Eusebius. It was situate in the suburb called *Ælia*, and although three furlongs distant from Jerusalem, it appears to have given name to one of the city gates, a sufficient proof

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<sup>\*</sup> PAUS., viii. 16.

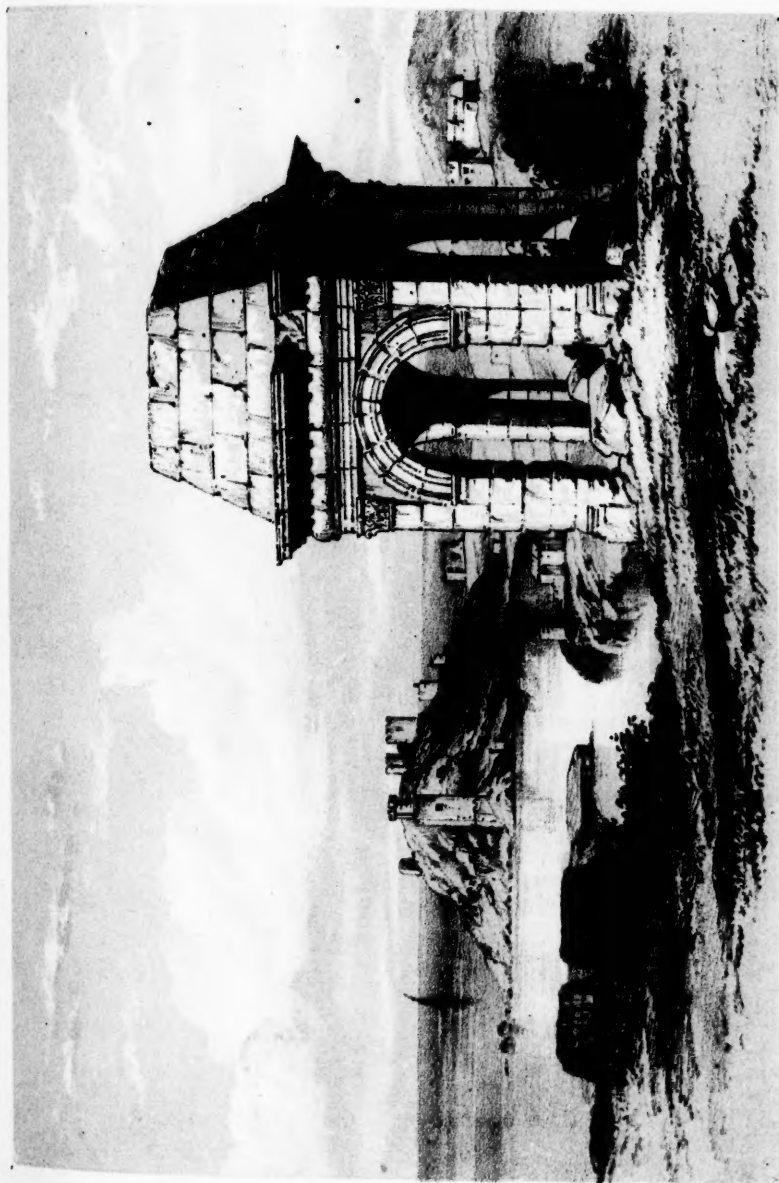
of its splendour and magnificence. Queen Helena erected the monument which was called "the three pyramids" in her lifetime, and on her decease, 45 B.C., was buried there by her son, Monobazus, king of Adiabene, who also buried there the bones of Izates, his brother.\* The other monument in this country was the sepulchre of the Maccabei, and which, with the substitution of the ships and armour for the chariot of Mausolus, seems to have borne a most remarkable resemblance to the mausoleum. This monument was erected, B.C. 143, by Simon Maccabeus, over the sepulchres of his father, his mother, and his four brethren, at Madin, the city of his ancestors, which was one mile from Joppa. Over the graves he built six pyramids, one for each of them, and which were all of great size and beauty. And in the centre he erected a very large monument of white and polished stone, and raised it to a great height, so as to be seen a long way off, and *finished it with a pyramid*.† And he ornamented it with sculptures, and encircled it with porticoes (στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται), of columns of one block; and upon the top he made representations of their armour, and ships, carved, for a perpetual memorial. A work it was wonderful to see.‡ A proof of the magnificence of this monument is evinced by its being described as still standing in the time of Josephus, who died A.D. 93, and of Eusebius, who died A.D. 342, or about 500 years after its erection. The custom of raising one monument to the memory of those who died together, or to members of the same family, was very common.

The accompanying view of a tomb at Celenderis, in Cilicia, which I took in May, 1844, may prove interesting, as showing the continued existence of the pyramidal type supported by piers, to a late period of Roman architecture. The most

\* EUSEB., ii. 12; JEROM., *Orat. de Obit. Beat. Paulæ*; JOSEPHUS, *de Bello Jud.*, v. 2, 2, and 3, 3; *Antiq.*, xx. 4, 3.

† Which is evident, from the historian telling us there were *seven* pyramids, 1 Macc. xiii. 28.

‡ 1 Macc. xiii. 27—30; JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii. 11, 2; xiii. 6, 6.

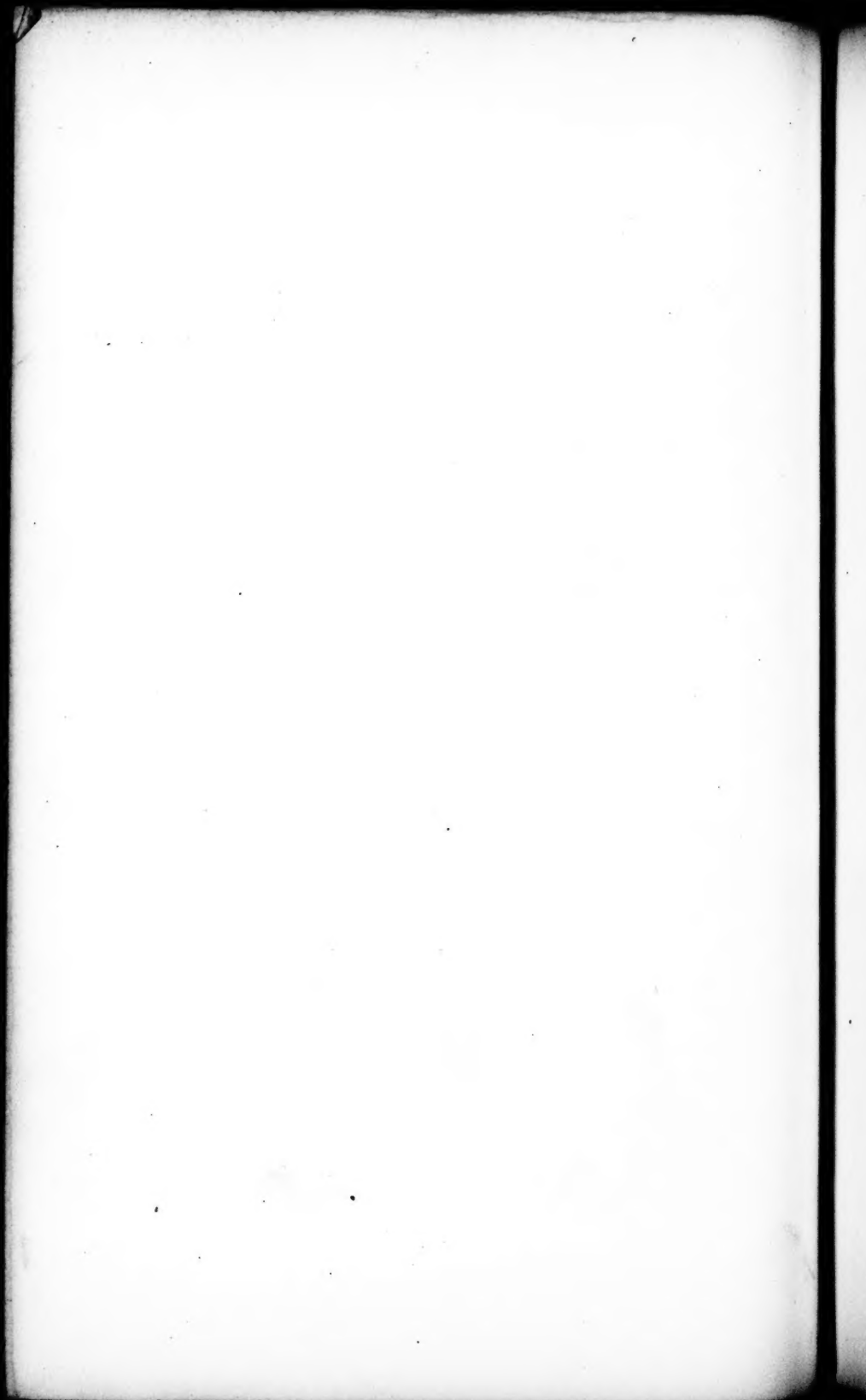


E. P. May 1844.

TOMB AT CELENDERIS IN CILICIA.

Ford & George, Lithographers 54 Nassau Street, N.Y.





beautiful example of this very common form is the tomb of St. Remi, in France. Another almost as beautiful, but a less known example, is the tomb at Ijel, near Trèves. It consists of three steps ornamented with sculpture, a square pedestal, in like manner enriched; above this is an open arcade, with a pilaster at each angle filled in with arabesque, a high frieze, attic, and pediment, all enriched with bas-relief. It is crowned with an ogee roof, enriched with laurel leaves, finishing with a Corinthian cap and eagle on a globe.

EDWARD FALKENER.

## XVI.

DESCRIPTION OF A VERY ANCIENT STATUE  
OF MINERVA, AT ATHENS.

*"The statue of Minerva, lately discovered on the Acropolis, was probably a copy of the old Minerva Polias, which was said to have fallen from heaven."*

THE above quotation from my note-book is one of a short series of remarks on ancient art, communicated to me at Athens by that distinguished archæologist, Carl Otfried Müller, in June, 1840. I propose, on a subsequent occasion, to give these remarks in all their integrity, and will now confine my observations to the description of this statue, particularly as I am not aware of any engraving of this remarkable figure, except that from a sketch by Sir William Gell, and the one published by Adolf Schöll, in the *Hinterlassenen Papieren*, von C. O. MÜLLER, Frankfurt, 1843, in which many of the details—in the hair, costume, and style—are not sufficiently indicated.

This sitting figure of Minerva is four feet six inches in height, and is of white Parian marble. It has a very Archaic character; the posture is formal and angular; the knees are close together, but the left foot a little advanced: the head and arms are wanting. Round the neck, and hanging like a cape, so as to cover the shoulders and body as low as the waist, is a broad ægis; the edges are indented, and holes remain at regular distances, probably for the insertion of bronze serpents. The shape of the breast is distinctly marked beneath the ægis, but no folds are visible on this surface. A large boss directly in front, and now perfectly smooth, was most probably adorned with a painted head of the Gorgon Medusa, whilst the ægis itself was coloured like scales, as we see on the painted vases. The hair falls in plaits over the shoulders, and in a great mass at

the back. A similar fashion is to be seen in many other Palladian figures, also preserved on the Acropolis.

It is worthy of observation, that the texture of the remaining drapery is fine ribbed, and in wavy lines, such as are frequently represented on early vases, and archaic sculpture. From its lightness and peculiar gauzy quality, it is only to be seen used as an under garment; and where the figure wearing it is seated, a mantle is invariably thrown over the knees. In the painted Sosias cup, in the bas-relief from the Villa Albani, and in the Harpy monument from Xanthus, this is conspicuously shown.\*



BAS-RELIEF ON ONE OF THE SIDES OF THE HARPY TOMB, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Here, however, it is the only garment to the limbs, and from the very want of an outer covering a serviceable argument may be derived. Müller regarded this as a repetition of the type of the old Minerva Polias, chiefly judging by the art-characteristics about it, and from the position in which it was found. The statue was discovered, it is believed, at the Aglaurium.† This locality is situated immediately at the foot of the Acropolis, under the Temple of Minerva Polias (SCHÖLL, p. 24). Pausanias says that her most sacred statue was a common offering of the demi, before they were collected into the city; it was preserved in the Acropolis, and reported to have fallen from

\* Zoëga, *Bassi rilievi di Roma*, Tav. xli.; Müller *Denkmäler*, Tav. xlv.

† A view of this celebrated grotto, taken by the writer in 1840, will appear in the next number of the *Life and Travels of St Paul*, by Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A.

heaven. He tells us also that an ancient sitting statue of Minerva was to be seen on the Acropolis, with an epigram upon it, signifying that it was the offering of Callias, and the work of Endæus, a disciple of Dædalus (PAUSANIAS, i. 26). In neither instance does he name the material, and on both occasions uses the word *αγαλμα*. This old statue seems, according to Athenagoras, to have been of olive wood—a mere *ξοανον*—and it was to this—the Minerva Polias—and not to the Minerva of the Parthenon, that the Panathenaic peplos—the “embroidered fasti of Athenian glory”—was periodically dedicated. The peplos, again, was not a veil suspended before the statue in the temple—it was the drapery in which the statue itself was invested,\* accompanied with ceremonies like those hinted at in the sixth book of the *Iliad*. Hecuba proceeded to her store of treasure, and selecting the finest and most valuable embroidered garment, gave it to the priestess Theano as an offering to Minerva. The priestess received and placed it upon the knees of the goddess, (Θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γόνασιν, *Il.* vi. 303,) and, praying, supplicated. Thus might fancy picture the prototype of this ancient and simply disposed figure, whose attitude seems best adapted for the purpose, raised on a pedestal, with the ever-burning lamp of Calimachus before it, and wrapt in the many-folded vestment, gorgeous and heavy from its embroideries. Such drapery could only be adapted to lie upon so flat a surface, unless applied to a standing figure of colossal proportions, and even then the limbs must have been disposed in more violent action. Whether so really primitive a figure would have been represented sitting may admit of doubt, but it was the opinion stated by the learned Professor after he had seen my drawing, and as such entitled to the utmost respect; though Schöll, who does not incline to its exhibiting an early type, seems, by the wording of his notes, to indicate wavering upon the part of his distinguished fellow-traveller.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

March 22nd, 1851.

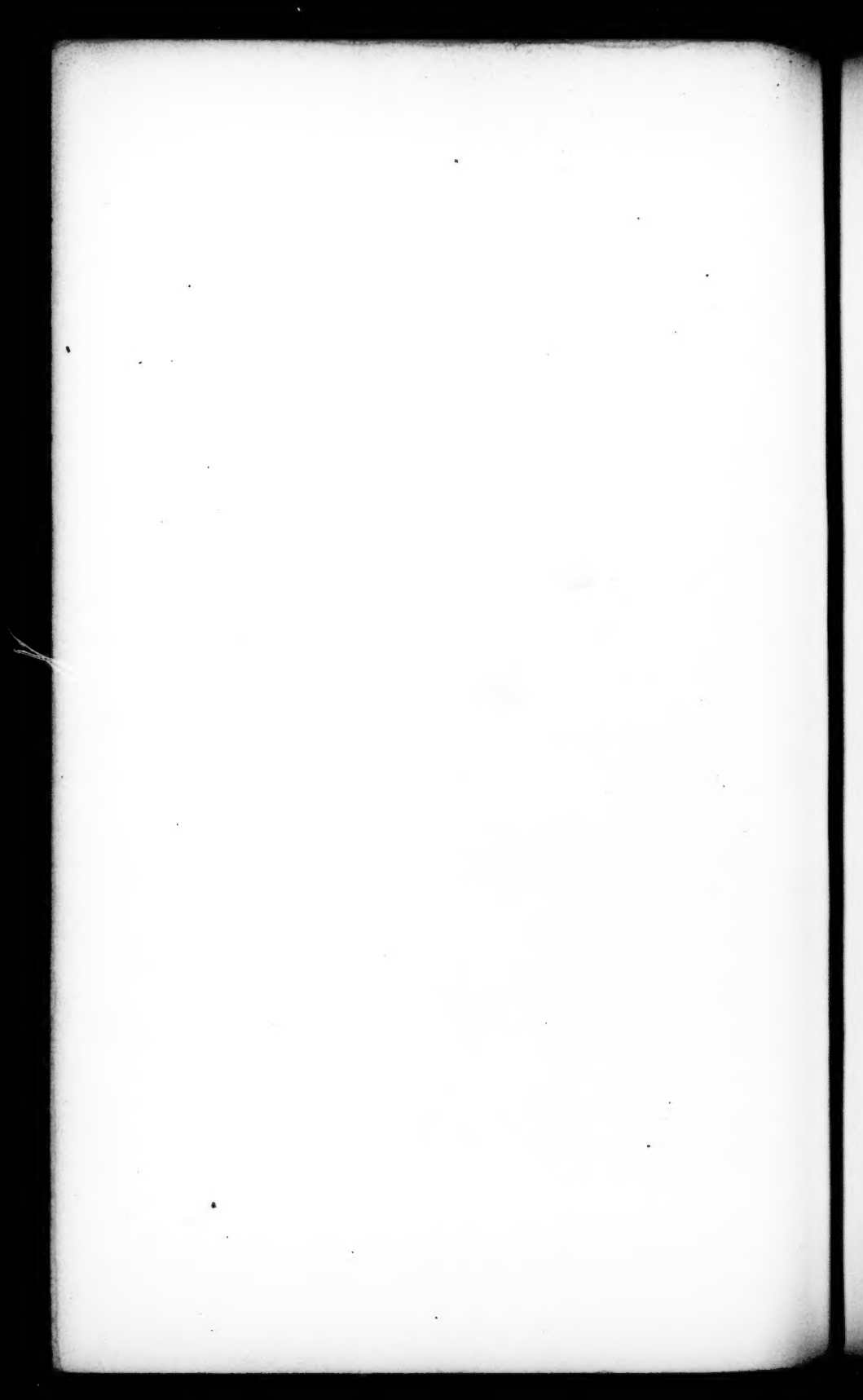
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\* WORDSWORTH, pp. 126, 127.





THREE VIEWS OF A VERY ANCIENT STATUE.  
ON THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS



## XVII.

## NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

- 1.—REV. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A. *The Roman Wall: a Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.* 8vo. Newcastle, 1851. John R. Smith, London; W. Sang, G. B. Richardson, Newcastle.

ARCHÆOLOGY, instead of being now an abstruse and dry study, is become an interesting and a fashionable one. Instead of the cumbrous tomes of Horsley and of Hodgson, works which, with all their learning and research, are unattainable and perhaps unknown to the general reader, we have in the elegant volume before us a well digested compendium of those earlier works, together with a statement of the author's personal investigations, and of the more accurate inductions which he is thereby enabled to draw—the whole presented to us in a clear and succinct manner, doing credit alike to the author's literary taste and to his antiquarian study.

On the conquest of Lower Britain by the Romans, the more warlike of the inhabitants joined the nations of the north. Advancing to the Lower Isthmus, Agricola, in the second year of his campaign, sought to maintain his position by a series of insulated forts. In the following year he pushed on toward the Upper Isthmus, which he fortified in like manner. These lines of defence were subsequently strengthened by the construction of an earthen barrier across the Upper—and of a stone wall across the Lower Isthmus.

This wall, called the Roman Wall, extends from Bowness to Wallsend, a distance of nearly sixty-nine miles.

A B C D E F G H I K



THE WALL, EIGHTEEN MILES WEST OF NEWCASTLE.



THE WALL, HALF A MILE WEST OF CARRAW.

It consists of—

- I. The Stone Wall : intended as a defence against the Picts.
- II. The Vallum, or Turf Wall : a defence against the Britons.
- III. Stations, Castles, and Watch Towers.
- IV. A Military Way.

I. The wall ( $\pi$ ) varies in its dimensions, and even in its mode of construction. The masonry is of the kind called by Vitruvius the Roman *Emplectum*, consisting of squared stones on each face, and filled in between with rubble ; differing from the Greek *ἐμπλεκτον*, in not having the bond-stones, *διάρωνοι*, and in not being worked up course by course. The stones are about twenty inches in length, ten or eleven in width, and eight or nine in thickness ; being such as a man might easily carry on his shoulders. Most of the bricks are tooled or “scabbled,” and sometimes marked with what appear to be masons’ signs. The average thickness of the wall is eight feet ; a platform ran along the top, protected by a parapet, making a total height of eighteen or nineteen feet.

On the outside of the wall is a fosse ( $\iota$ ), averaging thirty-six feet wide and fifteen feet deep.

The wall and its fosse are projected in as straight a line as the nature of the country would allow. Like the Roman Wall near Ratisbon—“no mountain is so high, no abyss so steep, no wood so thick, no morass so profound, through which it does not penetrate.” It never deviates from a right line, except to occupy the highest parts, and never fails to seize them when they occur, however often it may be thereby forced to change its course. These deviations of direction are always in angular, never in curved lines.

The Wall crowned the summit of cliffs, whose precipitous face would appear to have offered a sufficient bulwark ; and this the author attempts to explain by the supposition that it served, in such situations, merely as a protection against the cold ; but as the wall is not diminished in thickness, we think it more probable that it was in all cases calculated for defence against an enemy, to whom even the rocky heights of Sardis would have afforded no insurmountable obstruction.

The fosse follows the line of wall with undeviating constancy : it has been drawn indifferently through alluvial soil, and rocks of sandstone, limestone, and basalt. At Tepper Moor, enormous blocks of whin lie just as they have been lifted out of the fosse. When a flat and open country is passed through, a portion of the ground taken out of the ditch has frequently been deposited on its northern bank, thus making small outer agger (at  $\kappa$ ). In some parts the fosse appears to have been filled with water.

II. The Vallum, or Turf Wall, is properly a triple one. In the centre ran a second fosse ( $\nu$ ), the earth from which, conjointly with that from the great fosse, has been used in forming the principal vallum ( $\rho$ ) on the north of the second fosse. Its dimensions must have corresponded with those of the fosse, but at present it does not exceed six or seven feet in height. The southern glacis of the trench is fortified by an agger, or rampart ( $\sigma$ ). To the south of this is the third agger ( $\lambda$ ), which Horsley makes the least considerable.

I. II. The two lines of defence proceed across the isthmus in nearly a parallel course, and are generally within sixty or seventy yards of each other. Sometimes there is scarcely room for the Military Way between them, and sometimes they are half-a-mile apart. The greatest distance apart occurs in the mountainous districts

of the country, when the wall seeks the highest ground, and the vallum takes its course along the plains below.



SECTION OF WALL AND VALLUM AT BRADLEY.

The murus usually formed the northern side of the station, and the vallum the southern side, but sometimes they serve as defences to the east and west gates. The interval between them is always contracted in crossing a river; by this means they required one bridge only, which was more easily defended.

III. At distances along the line, of about four miles, were stationary camps, (stationes, or castra stativa.) These formed the nuclei of military cities. They were from three to five acres in extent, of a square form, divided into four quarters by streets at right angles, at each extremity of which was a gate. The streets were narrow and the houses small, in order to economise room and render their position one of greater strength. An advantage attending this uniformity of plan consisted in the facility with which fresh troops could be allotted to their respective quarters, even before arriving at a station. The ground usually sloped toward the south, and was defended by a fosse and earthen walls. Although at nearly equal distances apart, their position was determined partially by the nature of the country; and one of the most important requisites was an abundant supply of water. Suburbs extended round the cities for the convenience of camp-followers; and it is remarkable, that although many of them must have been of considerable importance, adorned with temples and other public monuments, there is scarcely one at present which is not converted into sheep-walks. The sites of seventeen or eighteen stations may still be traced, and the names of many of them, from Wallsend to Birdoswald, have been determined by reference to the *Notitia Imperii*.

The *Castella* are situated about a Roman mile apart. One is generally found, however, close to a river or a mountain-gorge, in order to defend the pass. They measure from sixty to seventy feet square. Between each of them were four turrets for sentries. Thus a constant communication of signals and orders could have been kept up from one end of the line to the other.

IV. An important part of the great barrier was its Military Way (c). This ran between the two defences, so that by the murus on the north, and by the vallum on the south, it was effectually concealed from view on either side, and thus troops could pass backwards and forwards without obstruction. It is usually seventeen feet wide, and is cambered, so as to give a rise in the centre of about eighteen inches. The road keeps an independent course; it is sometimes nearer to the murus, and sometimes to the vallum; the object of the engineer having been to afford the most



easy and direct communication between the various castles and stations. A smaller road ran immediately below the wall, and another on the south of the vallum (at B).

The *Upper Isthmus* was protected by a barrier which is called "Graham's Dike." It extended from Borrowstoness, on the Firth of Forth, to West Kirkpatrick, on the river Clyde, a distance of twenty-seven miles. It consisted of an immense fosse, forty feet wide and twenty deep, which extended over hill and dale in one unbroken line from sea to sea. Within a few feet of its southern side was an agger of twenty-four feet in thickness at the base, and twenty feet in height. Behind this ran the Military Way, about twenty feet wide, communicating with nineteen stations and several intermediate castella.

It is remarkable that the Upper Barrier is immediately to the north of the Clyde, the Lower Barrier to the north of the Tyne, the Irthing, and the Eden, and the "Devil's Wall," near Ratisbon, to the north of the Danube. The author endeavours to show, and with great probability, that the reason for not availing themselves of the natural trenches of river basins, was that they might be enabled to take advantage of the higher ground on the north banks of the rivers—to prevent surprise by the approach of an enemy up the rivers, concealed by the neighbouring forests,—and to enjoy to themselves the advantages accruing from the rich alluvial plains of these rivers.

In the Fifth Part the author discusses the question—"Who built the wall?" and we think that he has made a very clear case in favour of Hadrian, in opposition to the more general opinion, which ascribes it to Septimius Severus; and as the barrier of the Upper Isthmus was formed in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, the supposition seems extremely feasible that the Antonine Wall is but an advanced work of Hadrian's entrenchment.

We have contented ourselves in giving but a summary account of the Second Part; in the First is an epitome of the history of Roman occupation in Britain; the Third and Fourth contain a local description of the works; and the Sixth, an account of the antiquities discovered.

It would be a delightful process to follow the author in his description of the works, traversing the Isthmus from one extremity to the other, and pointing out at each step the several points of interest which present themselves. Among the objects so described, are the "Baths" at Hunnum, p. 162; a Roman bridge over the North Tyne, p. 170; extensive remains at Cilurnum, p. 174 (which have been described by John Clayton, Esq., in the *Archæologia Eliana*, iii. 142); the West Portal, and other remains of Borcovicus, pp. 216—228; the Castellum at Cawfields, p. 248; an Aqueduct, or Watercourse, at Esica, p. 257; the Station of Amboghanna, p. 280; and the remains at Plympton, or Old Penrith, p. 358. Among the antiquities discovered, we would call attention to a silver "lanx," or dish, found at Corbridge, p. 334; and to a very elegant altar at Nether Hall, p. 363.

The publication of this work has prompted the Duke of Northumberland to announce his intention of instituting further researches, on a larger scale, on the site of the Roman Wall. We trust that Mr. Bruce will take an active part in the prosecution of these researches, and that he may be induced to give us some further account of the Roman Wall from the discoveries which may ensue.

The work contains 450 pages, nearly every leaf of which is embellished with a lithograph or woodcut.

- 2.—PROF. BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S., &c.; and C. H. NEWMARCH, Esq. *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the Site of the Ancient Corinium*. Geo. Bell, Fleet-street; Baily and Jones, Cirencester. 4to. London. 1850.

AMONG the various publications which have appeared on topographical antiquity, there are few that can compete with the present work in beauty and interest; but we trust that the example set by Cirencester may be speedily followed by other cities of equal antiquarian importance.

Casual excavations, as the digging of a well, or the laying the foundations of a house, have almost invariably brought to light some evidence of ancient art at Cirencester; but these have taken place at protracted intervals, and their results were either wholly unheeded, or printed in scattered publications, and the remains themselves perhaps neglected or destroyed. With the increased zeal for antiquarian research, there is no fear that the latter evil will again occur; and the authors have endeavoured to remedy the former, by collecting in one chapter a relation of all previous discoveries, and referring to the various volumes in which they have been published.

It is not merely within the walls of the ancient Corinium that these antiquities have been discovered, but remains of some of the most beautiful villas in England have been found in its immediate vicinity—as at Stancomb Park, Woodchester, Whitcomb, Withington, and Crippetts near Leckhampton; thus denoting the importance of this city, and its long occupation by the Romans, many of whom appear to have selected it from its well-secured and tranquil district.

We are indebted for the present volume simply to the circumstance, that two pavements were discovered in consequence of making a sewer in Dyer-street in the year 1849: and the principal portion of the work is naturally devoted to their description, and to a relation of the objects discovered in the excavation: but the authors have taken advantage of the opportunity, to publish at the same time, a third pavement, discovered at the Barton in 1825, but which had remained till now unedited. These three pavements are drawn, engraved, and coloured in the most careful and beautiful manner, and with such distinctness, that we can, as it were, count every tessella, and form an opinion ourselves on the character of the representations. Owing to this finished execution of the engraving, we would suggest that the toga of Orpheus in the Barton pavement is not “variously striped,” as stated by the authors, but that the lines of colour merely designate the folds of the drapery, in the same manner that what they designate as “pantaloons” and “shoes” are simply the lines of the anatomy of the naked figure.

In the centre of this pavement (Plate VII.) is Orpheus, surrounded by a circular frieze of various birds,—the distinctive characteristics of which, as usual, are expressed with great truth,—walking round the circle in rapid strides. Round this is a larger frieze, containing various beasts of prey, treading the ground with measured steps and slow, to the sound of the music. This pavement measures twenty-one feet square. In the same Plate is an octangular star pattern, which is remarkable from its exact identity with the pattern so frequently employed by the Byzantines and Saracens in their geometrical mosaics. These pavements are now well protected by the erection of a house over them.

The first of the Dyer-street pavements (Plate VI.) is precisely similar in general

form to a pavement in the House of the Mosaic Fountain at Pompeii; but though more elaborate, it is not equal to it in purity of design. In the centre is a spirited representation of a chase; three out of four dogs remain, but the quarry is destroyed. It forms a square of fifteen feet.

The third pavement (Plate II.) is the largest and most elaborate. It is twenty-five feet square, and consists of nine entire circles, in three rows of three. The central circle appears to have had a centaur, the fore-legs only of which remain. It probably represented Chiron and Achilles. In the circle above is Bacchus; in that below, Silenus on an ass; that on the right represents Actæon, torn in pieces by his dogs; the other on the left is destroyed. The angle medallions—three of which are preserved—contain heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora. As in the former pavement, so in this, we are not disposed to agree to the "trousers" and "shoes" of Silenus, nor can we at all consent to the opinion that, as the antlers are but beginning to shoot out of the head of Actæon, and the metamorphose is only commencing, Actæon must have "smelt strongly of venison," or his dogs would not have attacked him. Artists, in depicting such representations, selected always such points as best explain the nature of the history: the induction, therefore, "that the dogs of the ancients never followed by sight as our greyhound," must be regarded as gratuitous. Had the transformation completely taken place, it would have been a deer-chase, not a representation of Actæon.

The three heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora, follow in Plates III., IV., and V. They are drawn with great freedom and breadth of composition: that of Pomona is very fine, but the Ceres is remarkably beautiful.

The description of the pavements is followed by an interesting analysis of the materials of the tessellæ, including a Report by Dr. A. Voelcker on the composition of ruby-coloured glass. On the discovery of this pavement, the head of Flora appeared to be crowned with green leaves and flowers. The colour of the flowers being of a more dusky hue than that of the leaves, led the authors to examine the pavement more minutely, and they discovered that the tessellæ of which these parts were formed, consisted of bright ruby-coloured glass, the surface of which had become oxidized, and changed to this green colour. This circumstance is worthy of observation, as pavements in other parts may exist, the design of which might be incorrectly published, from ignorance of this fact. In these pavements, glass is used where broad masses of colour are required; but in those mosaics of Italy which were executed by Greek artists, glass is employed, not so much for local colour, as to give delicacy in the detail and finishing.

The next chapter describes the various modes of constructing tessellated floors, and it is rightly remarked, that the existence of "suspensuræ" is not always an evidence of their being remains of baths. Though in Italy and more southern regions this is invariably the practice, in the cold damp climate of the north it was requisite to keep the pavement dry and warm, in order to render the house habitable, otherwise it would have been necessary to cover the mosaic constantly with matting, which would conceal the beauty of the ornament. The larger pavement is remarkable, in being partly on a solid foundation and partly suspended on pilæ, the reason of which manifestly is, that hot flues under one-half of the pavement were considered capable of warming sufficiently the whole apartment: and, therefore, Mr. Tucker's opinion that this room served the double

purpose of a *Triclinium hybernium* and of a *Triclinium æstivum*, cannot be entertained. If any difference existed, the portion of the room over the hollow pavement would naturally be the warmest in winter and the coolest in summer, and, consequently, at all times preferable: besides, the distribution of pavement so universally employed for *Triclinia* does not here exist; and, moreover, by this supposition, this beautiful mosaic would have been divided in two by a partition.

The exteriors of Roman houses were far from being, as supposed by the authors, "inornate." From the paucity of openings in the lower floor, this portion of the exterior was generally very simple in its treatment. Pilasters occupied the quoins and doorways, but the remainder of the wall was plain. In the upper floors, however, there is reason to believe that greater richness and freedom prevailed. From the beauty of the pavements, and from the circumstance that ashlar stone was discovered on the exterior of the walls, we feel convinced that the exterior of this house must have corresponded in character and importance with the interior.

It is with great pleasure that we find further investigations are about to be made (p. 21), especially as the smaller pavement was discovered merely by an "experimental shaft," and it is very desirable that the entire plan of this magnificent dwelling should be exposed to light, even should the modern Portici be sacrificed in order to recover the ancient Herculaneum. The plan, as at present given (p. 62), is so exceedingly indefinite—not a single door being indicated—that it is perfectly impossible even to guess at the distribution of the mansion. It is very certain, however, that the arrangement proposed in page 70, has no analogy with that of a Roman villa. If we might hazard an opinion from consideration of the character of the mosaics, without reference to the plan of the dwelling, we would suggest, that from the representations of Actæon, and of Chiron and Achilles, these rooms might have formed a portion of the Gynæceum of the mansion.

We cannot close the book, without noticing the great care with which these pavements have been copied and engraved. Complete tracings were taken of the mosaics by Mr. T. Cox, which were then coloured on the spot: and these fac-similes were then reduced by the Talbotype apparatus by Mr. Philip De La Motte, thus ensuring the most perfect accuracy.

We rejoice to see so numerous a list of subscribers, and that the Archæological Institute have so greatly promoted its publication: and we feel assured that the book will eventually force its way into every antiquarian library.

3.—GIO. ORTI MANARA. *Di un Antico Monumento dei tempi Romani che trovasi nella terra delle Stelle presso Verona.* 8vo. Ver. 1848.

IMBUED with love for his native city, and meditating on its ancient glory, derived from the importance of its geographical position as one of the keys of Northern Italy, and from the remarkable vestiges of ancient monuments which attest its former power and opulence, the Conte Orti has proposed to himself "to collect together all the documents which refer to such monuments, to examine them with diligence and attention, and to delineate them with scrupulous fidelity and care, in order that he may be enabled to describe them with requisite accuracy and precision." Various works have already appeared from his pen, and we may shortly

expect a very interesting description of the excavations which he has conducted at the Villa of Catullus on the Lago di Gada.

The present pamphlet treats of a subterranean viaduct and conduit, the former of which gives access to two small chambers, one of which is decorated with a mosaic pavement and fresco paintings. Santa Maria delle Stelle derives its name from a stella found in one of the above-mentioned chambers. It is near Quinto, a village so called because five Roman miles from the city. The monument appears to have been unexplored by Maffei; while Dionisi, Venturi, Da Persico, and Bennassuti, considered it to be a Cave dedicated to Jupiter, or Mercury Trophonius. Others, again, from the supply of water, have considered the chambers to have been baths. Conte Orti refutes these opinions, and establishes clearly that they served as the sepulchral vaults, or columbaria, of the individual who laid down the conduit. The entrance is by a flight of steps, on descending which is the gallery or viaduct, about four feet high. At a little distance is a square chamber, ten feet high, communicating with two vaults, the further side of which is formed into a semicircle. They measure nineteen feet six inches by fifteen feet; they are thirteen feet high, and are ventilated and lit by small shafts from above. Beyond this are two larger shafts, from the further of which an inclined plane leads to the source of water. The stella or cippus found in one of the chambers bears the following inscription:—

POMPONIAE  
ARISTOCLI  
AE  
ALUMNAE.

4.—EDWARD GERHARD. *Mykenische Alterthümer*. 4to. Berlin, 1850.

THIS pamphlet will be interesting to the architect, from its elucidation of the symbolic character of the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ. The learned archæologue endeavours to point out the connexion which these animals had with the worship of Io. The text is accompanied with a folding plate, in which is a representation of the Gate of the Lions, and of a terra cotta figure of the metamorphose of Io, found at Centorbi, in Sicily.

5.—EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A. *A History of Architecture*. Masters, Aldersgate-street. 8vo. London. 1849.

THE title is a general one; and the subject requires great experience, profound knowledge, and, above all, an enlarged mind, and an unbiassed judgment. The Author, however, is an ecclesiologist. He acknowledges himself to be devotedly attached to Teutonic forms, and puts forward the engraving of a church in the perpendicular style as the frontispiece to his work. Instead, therefore, of writing a history of architecture, he writes an eulogium on Gothic architecture; and instead of treating Gothic architecture in a broad and comprehensive manner, he confines all the references and examples to ecclesiastical buildings, (p. xvii.)

As it is not the province of this journal to treat of Gothic art, we turn at once to the chapters which touch upon classic architecture. He informs us that this branch of his subject is "little more than a compilation from other writers" (p. 8). We find, however, that he holds extreme, and we trust peculiar views. He begins



by asserting that "Gothic architecture is beyond all comparison the noblest effort of the art" (10); that "the products of Grecian heathenism neither can nor ought to be reproduced in Teutonic Christendom" (106). He affirms that "the Ionic and Corinthian orders are modifications, if not corruptions, of the Doric" (104); that "the Ionic can hardly be said to be the development of any idea" (111); that the Erechtheum "is as great an absurdity as anything that Vitruvius or Palladio could have produced" (117); that the choragic monument of Lysicrates, that of Thrasyllus, and the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes "could have been far better carried out in the Romanesque or Gothic" styles (120, 121); that "in domestic architecture their style must have failed" (131); and he regards the Elgin marbles, in their present position, as mere antiquities (108).

In the next chapter, which treats of Roman architecture, he affirms that it is simply the exceeding excellence of the two elements—the perfect loveliness of Grecian detail, corrupted as it was by its Roman imitators, and the magnificent boldness of the genuine Roman construction—"that saves any of its productions from absolute hideousness" (140).

In the concluding chapter, which treats of the revival of the classic styles, he says, "Italian architecture must be looked upon as simply detestable" (444). He acknowledges St. Paul's to be a grand building, "wretched as is its style, glaring, and even ludicrous, as are its individual defects" (446). He describes the lingering adherence, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the old northern and Christian forms, as "the material reflection of that Catholic movement in the English Church, which has immortalized the names of Andrewes and Laud,\* and a host of inferior worthies" (440).

Something of this *Catholic* feeling we fancy we perceive in other passages. Thus, not to speak of the "demons of heathendom" in St. Paul's (446), he says of other cathedrals, "the *fabric* of Ely and Westminster may be renewed; but *while the laity throng the choir*, and pagan nudities stand unrebuked, the *Church* is unrestored" (451).

Several glaring errors might be pointed out—as that the Greeks never placed one colonnade above another (129); that the whole end and aim of Grecian architecture was to produce an exterior (130); and that the Doric column had no entasis (110), &c. &c.: but we abstain.

Such is the book which has been sent to us for the expression of our approbation!—such the tenets to which we are expected to subscribe!

6.—ARCHIT. ARCHÆOL. AND HIST. SOCIETY OF CHESTER. *Journal*. Part I. 8vo. July, 1850.

We are delighted to see an Archæological Society springing up in the good old city of Chester, and trust that the ample materials which they have before them in their own city will be amply worked out. In Part I. we find, among other papers, a description, by the Rev. W. H. Massie, of a Roman wooden bridge, found buried

\* Laud!—that Christian prelate and "worthy" of the Catholic Church, who cropped the ears and slit the noses of those who dared to question the authority of the Church.

fourteen feet under the silt at Birkenhead, pp. 55 and 68. This paper will be found very interesting, from the singularity of the bridge being built of wood, and from the evidences which the author adduces of the great alterations, both of land and water, which the neighbouring country has undergone.

- 7.—EDMUND GETTY, M.R.I.A. *Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland.* 4to. Belfast, 1850. Hodgson, 13, Paternoster-row; Hodges and Smith, Dublin; Marcus Ward and Co. Belfast.

IN establishing an Archaeological Journal of classic art, we might have expected that that most ancient nation, the Chinese, would not long defer advancing their claim to honourable distinction. The work which they have sent us is a collection of sixty seals, all of which are in the form of a small cube, with a monkey at the top, serving as a handle, which it would be profaneness to say is anything but classic in its drawing. The impressions are accompanied with five translations, by which we are enabled to judge of their general accuracy. The mottoes are as vague and strange as any that are enclosed in bons-bons. No. 1. *To sing with the wind and play with the moon*; 6. *Plumtrees and bamboos*; 17. *Intimate with all the Savans of the world.* Forty-six of these seals were found in different parts of Ireland; but how they got there no one at present has been able to explain. Chinese vases have been found at Thebes and other parts of Egypt, but whether brought there by the ancient Egyptians, the Romans, or even the Arabs, is uncertain. On one of these was found the following motto:—*The flower opens, and lo! another year.*

- 8.—MARCUS WARD AND CO. *St. Patrick's Bell, and its Jewelled Shrine.* Small folio. Belfast, 1850. Hodgson, 13, Paternoster-row; Hodges and Smith, Dublin; Marcus Ward and Co. Belfast.

ALTHOUGH we have as great respect for that preacher of pure Christianity, St. Patrick, as any Irishman possibly can, we are not able to say much in commendation of his bell. It is of a square form, and composed of two pieces of sheet iron rudely riveted together, without any attention to shape or ornament, and must have made about as delightful music as any broken kettle. It is, indeed, almost as ugly as "our black lady of Loreto," and, like it, is enclosed in a costly and magnificent shrine. This latter is of brass, inlaid with gold and silver and precious stones. But what gives it the greatest merit is the beauty of the arabesques and ornaments, which partake much of an Oriental character.

The birds, the twisted "serpents" or lizards, and the scroll-work, so closely resemble the ornamental writing of the East, that we might almost believe some hidden signification is expressed therein. The sides are all different in design, and a separate plate is given of each.

The work has been got up as a specimen of Irish chromo-lithography, and its execution is so beautiful, that we sincerely hope Irish artists will henceforward be employed in the publication of Irish works, whether they be on literature, science, or antiquity.

## XVIII.

## ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

## II.

*Collections from the ARCHÄOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG herausgeben von EDUARD GERHARD. 4to. Berlin, 1843—1850 inclusive. Vols. I.—IV.*

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